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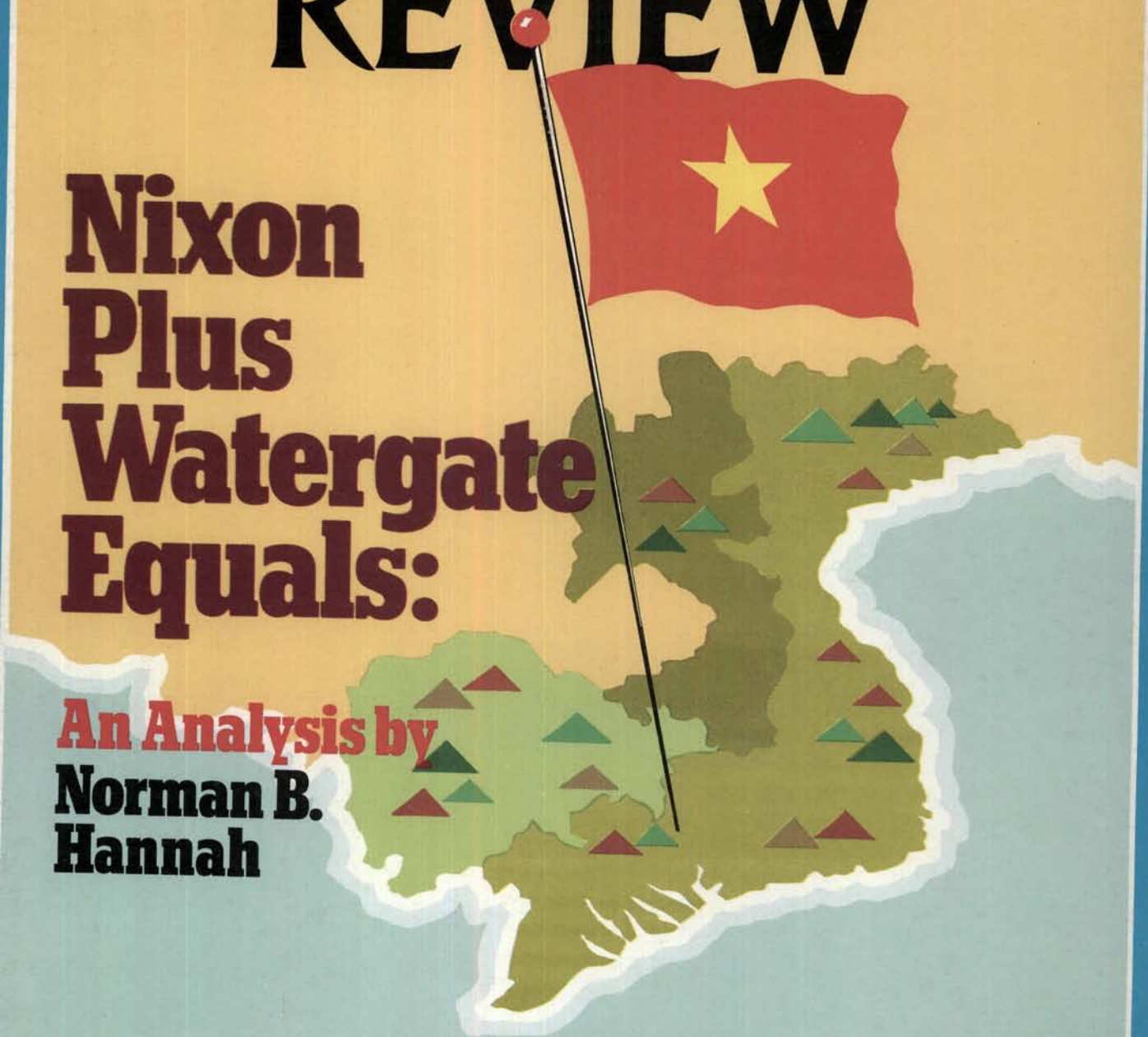

Nixon Plus Watergate Equals:

An Analysis by
Norman B. Hannah

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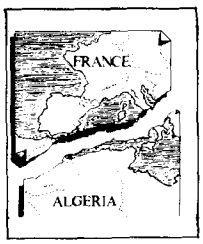

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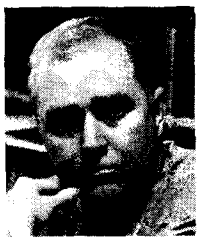

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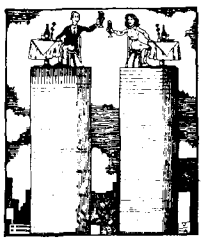

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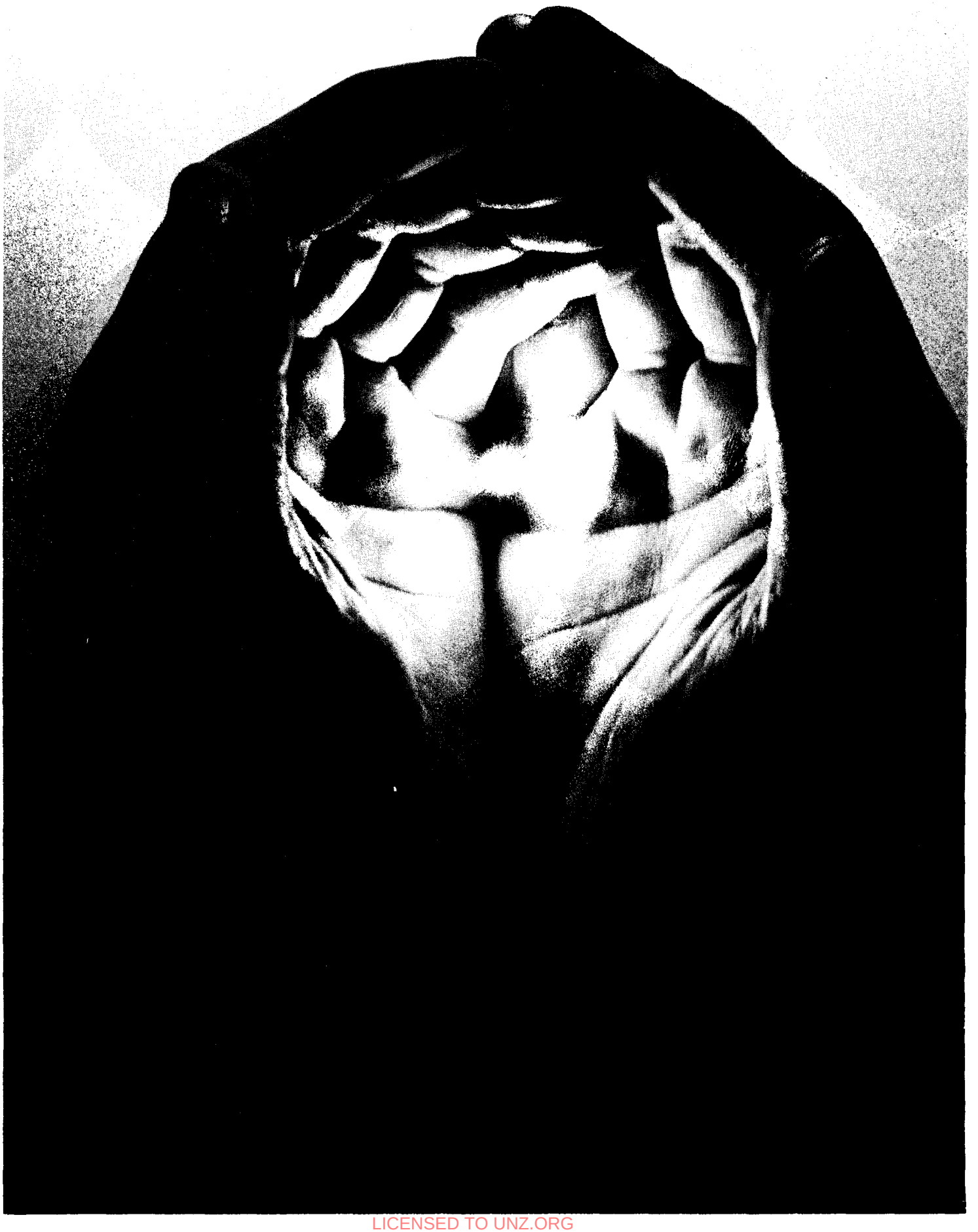

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Letters

Protestant Papist

Malcolm Muggeridge ["If I Were Pope . . .", June 9] could just as easily have applied to himself his praise for Mother Teresa. Mr. Muggeridge's prose, like Mother Teresa's charity, radiates like morning light; it illuminates, refreshes. Would that most Catholics had the faith and spiritual insight of this non-Catholic, who in any case should be given an honorary baptism.

And yet, for a man so infused with spirit, Mr. Muggeridge asserts a troubling sense of apocalypse. He seems intent on the afterlife, not only for himself but for the Church as well. And so he would prepare the way for an underground Church, hidden in Catacombs, as if the need for such a thing were imminent, even inevitable. And he sounds strangely like a doomsayer when he condemns, in off-hand fashion, nuclear weaponry and "an ever-expanding economy." Neither gains man complete happiness; but, at least in this imperfect world, each does its part to hold off an atheistic Marxism. The Christian world isn't disintegrating yet; and it won't as long as there are people with the faith of Mr. Muggeridge.

Fond du Lac, Wis. PAUL ANTHONY

On Nazis in Skokie

Concerning "Marching through Skokie," by Hadley Arkes [May 12]: There are times when the proper thing for government to do is—nothing. When a young man walks through the corridors of the County Courthouse in Los Angeles wearing a jacket that bears the inscription "F--- the Draft," the police should let him pass.

Apparently, conservatives do not recognize the absurdity of black-robed Supreme Court Justices debating at length the exact meaning of such words, whether such expression is legitimately protected by the First Amendment, whether such expression is injurious, ad nauseam. From a libertarian point of view, the only crime involved in the incident was the senseless expenditure of tax money on police and courtroom salaries. The Skokie march should be treated in the same way. If somebody uses force or threatens the use of force, make arrests. Otherwise, do nothing.

Cincinnati, Ohio. EVERETT DEJAGER

The only problem with Hadley Arkes' march through Skokie is that he wants to be the guy who decides from time to time which are the "moral premises" that permit the suppression of (only a little?) speech.

It used to be that one could rationalize the exclusion of Nazis from Skokie on other grounds than Arkes offers; whatever happened to the "clear and present danger" test? It is one thing to say that certain speech, or speakers, cannot proceed because their speech will lead to violence; it is quite another to say, as Mr. Arkes does, that certain speech, or speakers, cannot proceed because they are morally reprehensible.

Dallas, Tex. ROD PHELAN

Hadley Arkes makes a valid argument in the context of modern judicial interpretation. But he neglects the real problem: the centralization of governmental power which makes it necessary for the U.S. Supreme Court, or some inferior federal court, to impose a solution upon a locality such as Skokie. The First Amendment, as well as the entire Bill of Rights, was intended by the Founding Fathers to bind only the Federal Government. Only through the avenue of the Fourteenth Amendment have these prohibitions been applied to states and localities. The definition of free speech, or of pornography, should reflect the standards of each community.

The governing body of Skokie should be able to accept or reject the Nazis' application for a permit to parade. Their decision should be final. It should be impossible to appeal a case of this nature all the way to the Supreme Court. A government that has the power to enforce equality in matters involving the "civil rights" of racial or ethnic groups also has the power to deny the natural rights of any particular group to determine and to maintain its own peculiar standards of decency and morality.

Asheville, N.C. DAN WALTERS

Kudos to Professor Hadley Arkes for his disquisition against Nazi offensiveness and Justice Harlan's decisions. Particularly brilliant was his crucial distinction between indelible moral "truths," even those held by minorities, and mere "opinions," even those of a majority. Alas, it is increasingly more evident that, in certain legal quarters, God, to paraphrase Samuel Butler, is simply the word that follows "go-cart."

Bronx, N.Y. RABBI LYLE KAMLET

Golden Standards

The Administration's decision to sell 1,800,000 ounces of gold over a period of six months could be consummated in a matter of two or three hours on any given day, thereby giving the United States Treasury

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A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
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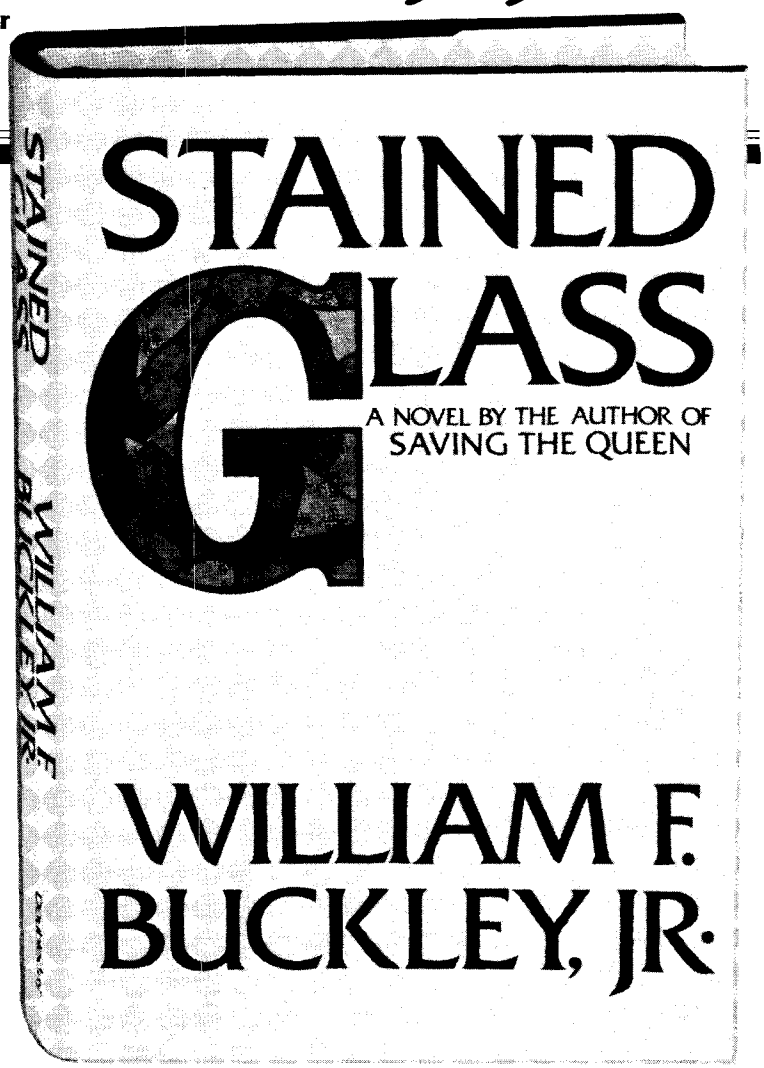

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immediate use of approximately $300 million—thus saving the Treasury approximately $10 million in interest over a six month period. But the sale of this gold is infinitesimal, inasmuch as Germany, from November to the end of January, expended approximately $11 billion in an effort to stem the falling dollar.

The future of this country should be guarded with the retention of our gold bullion. The United States Government sold its silver reserves at $1.29 per ounce. Presently, silver is selling at $5 per ounce. If we continue to sell our remaining gold reserves, what will we use for money in the event of war?

Palm Beach, Fla. EARL E. T. SMITH

Looking Back Again

"Looking Back on a Lost Opportunity" by Colin S. Gray [May 12] is one of your best. Of course the United States should not have been in that situation in the early Seventies. In 1964 Senator Goldwater kept urging us not to send our boys to the jungles of Vietnam; we had the air and sea power to end the invasion by North Vietnam. But the people chose Johnson, who sent two million boys over there. Then when in 1968 they saw President Johnson's mistake, the people elected Richard Nixon. In about three years he had safely withdrawn our troops from Vietnam, and with our air and sea power had obtained the Paris Peace Accord. But the political pressures of the Watergate mess began to interfere, and the 93rd Congress, with the help of Senator Edward Kennedy, reneged on President John Kennedy's promise of January 20, 1961 that "we shall pay any price . . . to assure the survival and success of liberty." So we reduced our material help to South Vietnam; North Vietnam broke the Paris agreement and completed the invasion. We had lost our longest and costliest war.

Worcester, Mass. HAROLD E. WOODWARD

As a military man present in Washington during the early stages of the Johnson phase of the Vietnam War, I would like to defend the then-Joint Chiefs against Colin S. Gray's suggestion that they should have identified the correct course of action to take against the NVA and insisted upon it on pain of noisy resignations.

Although I was not privy to the machinations of the JCs, most of the correct courses of action were evident to any professional military officer. The remedy for marauding units of an enemy army is simply to invade their homeland, which brings them home on the double and stops their marauding. The action is elementary and traditional, and it would have worked on the NVA as well as it would work today on the Cubans.

The problem was Defense Secretary McNamara and his whiz kids, who fancied themselves more enlightened than the Joint Chiefs. No number of resignations would have dented Mr. McNamara's self-assurance. He gave the impression that he could function quite well without the interference of the professional military, and he was prepared to do so. The Chiefs realized this. Furthermore, resignation is a kind of surrender, which no military man is prepared to accept in wartime. The authoritarian and inexperienced Defense Department amateurs, who had determined to dabble in tactical matters, were regarded by the military as simply more obstacles to be overcome. The military carried out their unrealistic decisions out of respect for the principle of civilian authority. Their performance should reassure those who profess fear of a military "takeover." In the Vietnam fiasco, the military were loyal to their civilian superiors—even to the point of defeat.

J. M. PRESTON, CDR, USN (RET.)
Springfield, Va.

I would like to point out that America still has a stake in Indochina: the 1,300 U.S. servicemen still unaccounted for since the end of our Vietnam War involvement. The POW/MIA issue is definitely not a "lost opportunity," even though the Carter Administration would have us believe it is. By withholding any aid to Vietnam, or any diplomatic recognition, and by writing our congressmen, senators, and the President, we can bring pressure on the Communists to release all Americans still held captive, or to account fully for all POW/MIAs.

Elmont, N.Y. HAROLD R. MOROZ

Marxists as Teachers

Concerning your statement ["The Week," May 26] that Eugene Genovese "employs Marxist thought as a perspective, a mode of analysis—a tool, that is, of understanding" and that therefore he is, unlike Professor Ollman, "manifestly qualified for an academic post," permit me to call to your attention something that Genovese wrote in *Radical History Review*, Winter 1977, pp. 106-7:

Certain critics "understand that my work has always been frankly political in intent. While opposed to ideological history and presentism, I have never written a line that has not been, in George Rawick's phrase, 'a political intervention.'" Which doesn't mean he isn't qualified for an academic post. But if you don't realize that all his scholarly work is aimed at ultimate *political* power, you don't understand the Marxist, and the Genovesist, mind.

Cambridge, Mass. NAME WITHHELD

TV and Ideology

I am not an admirer of the man who writes "Random Notes" [March 31]. Does he read the books he comments upon?

It is clear that he didn't read my book, *Rated X: The Moral Case Against TV*. He called it "the liberal's case against the medium." It is actually the conservative's case. How could there be a liberal case against TV when TV is so pro-liberal? My book hits the amorality that not only violates standards but seeks to eliminate them; it hits the news-twisting and the doctoring of documentaries. By saying I "dressed up" my book to "suit conservative prejudices," your writer labeled me a phony. Since I have always been a consistent and sincere conservative, I resent that.

Wyncote, Pa. MARY LEWIS COAKLEY

In your brief editorial, "Banality of Evil" [May 12], you note that the lack of Western moral outrage over the Cambodian blood bath may be due to the failure of television coverage. TV's failure is both a cause and a symptom of selective morality.

Over a year ago, I documented the performance of the evening news programs of ABC, CBS, and NBC for the first twenty months after the "liberation" of Cambodia. The three network shows combined gave a total of one minute per month to this purge, which in terms of relative pop-

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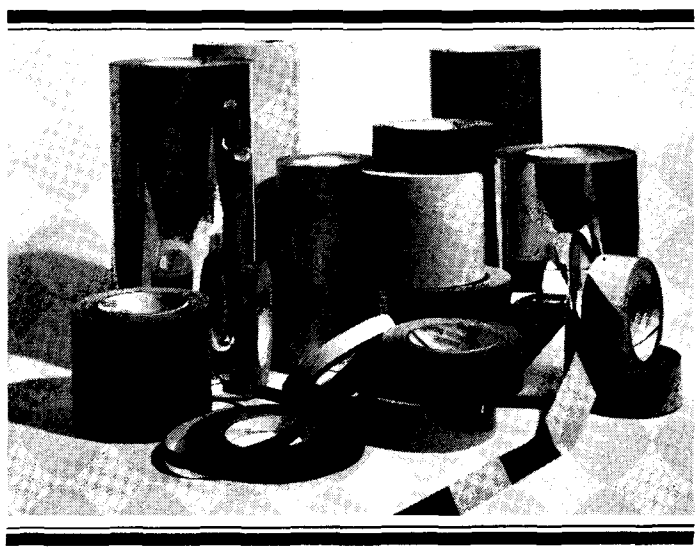

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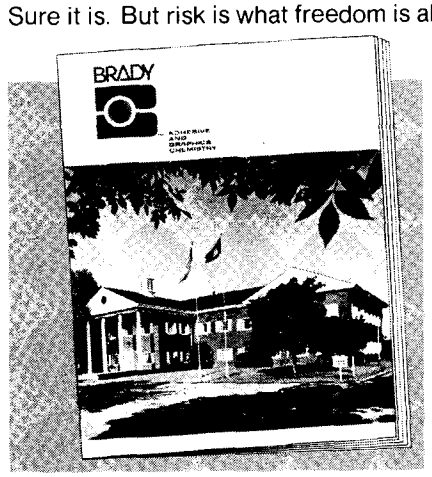

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ulation exceeded the slaughter of Hitler's holocaust and Stalin's Gulag. The attentive viewer—able to watch only one channel at a time—received only twenty seconds a month from the networks, which dominate the medium American citizens rely on most for their news.

My survey, along with a brief review of the performance of America's prestige newspapers, was carried in a News Watch column in *TV Guide*, April 30, 1977—a column which I believe has recently been discontinued.

Washington, D.C. ERNEST W. LEFEVER

In your editorial, "Should Catholics Vote?" [May 12], you defend Bill Moyers as "a patently decent man" in the context of criticizing—justifiably—his *CBS Reports* program, "The Politics of Abortion." I certainly would not wish to cast aspersions on his decency on the basis of his program, but his performance doesn't offer substantial reason to affirm it either. In July 1977 he produced another CBS special, "Born Again." In this he used newly converted rural teenagers to talk about difficult points of evangelical theology, and then allowed the eminent church historian Martin Marty—like Moyers, a backslidden evangelical—to make indulgent, understanding remarks about their simple, childlike faith.

Evangelicals and Roman Catholics are more and more finding themselves lumped together—sometimes in company with Orthodox Jews and Latter-Day Saints (Mormons)—as the target for media ridicule, not least because of their continuing opposition to abortion. Moyers may indeed be a decent man, but his treatment of the "born again" community in 1977, followed by that of the anti-abortionists in 1978, is selective, biased, and misleading. Given Moyers' intelligence, it is hard not to conclude that the bias is deliberate—and whether or not he is decent, that kind of bias isn't.

Deerfield, Ill. HAROLD O. J. BROWN

Rhodesian Patriot

John Davenport's "Ian Smith: An American-Rhodesian Perspective" [April 14] was a gem. At last, Rhodesia's much-maligned leader received a fair shake in an American publication. The article captured the essential Smith—a man of integrity, and a great patriot.

His role in Rhodesia's history is central. This was confirmed in a letter I received from a high-ranking Rhodesian official who originally opposed Smith's selection as Prime Minister. The letter was a response to an inquiry I made while conducting research for a doctoral dissertation. He wrote: "[Smith] . . . saw more clearly than any of us that the future existence of Rhodesia was dependent upon complete severance of the political influ-

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ence of the British government on our affairs . . . He at no time deviated in his determination to secure our independence and he never faltered in his belief that we . . . would succeed. To the very last he hoped that the necessity for a unilateral action would be avoided; for it was incomprehensible that, after forty years of self-government, the British government would ultimately refuse what was so justly earned. To him must remain historically the role of the person whose strength of purpose and steadfastness of thought and act brooked no deviation." If Smith erred, it was in underestimating the intensity of the West's death wish and its willingness to drag one of its most faithful outposts into the same grave.

Commack, N.Y. ANTHONY P. DI PERNA

Culture Bound

I find it impossible to disagree with George Gilder's contention, in his review of Orlando Patterson's book, "Kiss Me, I'm Melted" [April 14], that "Central governments that excessively tax and regulate their people . . . virtually require their subjects to organize in groups to get fair shares of the redistributions, and fair treatment from the officials."

What Mr. Gilder does not say is: What else should they do if the issue is further compounded when groups accorded "minority" status receive government-mandated shares? It must be realized that the full force of the law, and government power, is behind these acts. Unless the very concept of "minority" status is defeated as a chimera of "higher liberalism," there is no option.

In Chicago, the police and firefighters have been mandated to hire blacks, Latins, and women on a quota basis. This leaves the Slavic groups (I am Polish-American) at the end of the line, for these jobs, *despite* the fact that they are woefully unrepresented in *exactly* the same areas to which blacks, Latins, and women now have a governmentally mandated claim.

If I thought it possible to stop this quota-ization of America, I could easily heap contempt upon "affirmative action," but to be near the end of the line in social and economic status as well as unaccounted for in "affirmative action" programs is to be placed in limbo. Orlando Patterson has no answer to this (except his silly socialism), and George Gilder doesn't even mention it as a problem.

I suppose it is unfair to use the term "elitist" in speaking of the mentalities of Gilder and Patterson, but what else can I call it? From where I sit, in a West Side Chicago neighborhood, ethnic as *Kielbasa* but slowly eroding *back* into a slum before my eyes; jobless; unable to buy a new home elsewhere because prices are astronomical whereas my home is worth next to nothing on the market because of its location; and seeing as how Patterson and Gilder do not strike me as particularly poverty-stricken, I have no choice but to see their arguments as, well, class- and culture-bound. Which of us, they or I, is the provincial?

Chicago, Ill. MITCHELL WOJTYCKI

Close to Home

Too bad I couldn't have been there in your office when Francis Russell rushed in with his copy of "Why on Cape Cod?" [May 26]. It must have been amusing. Correct me if I'm wrong, but if it had been in someone else's neighborhood, wouldn't your article have been about how the EPA and eco-freaks failed to cripple the nation's defense? I'm forced to take typewriter in hand and once again beg you on bended knee to please stop giving the impression that "conservatism" is nothing more than the collective self-interest of the middle-aged middle class.

Allentown, Pa. DON SCHENK

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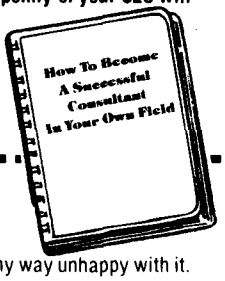

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Suddenly the black community is up in arms over **Jimmy Carter**'s blast at Soviet-Cuban involvement in Africa. Rep. **John Conyers** (D., Mich.), congressional advisor to the U.S. team at the UN Disarmament Conference, bitterly attacked Carter on his new African turn: "I have no evidence of a Russian buildup [in Africa]. The whole notion of the Russians are coming is a theme used by the Pentagon and President regularly. This is a **Reagan** approach." Conyers thinks Carter should get back to the business of negotiating a SALT treaty and suspending the **N-bomb** ("a madman's weapon, a capitalist's dream"). . . . The congressional Black Caucus, of which Conyers is a member, charges that Carter and **Bzrezinski** (suddenly everyone's favorite target) have "over-reacted" to the Soviet threat, and are sinking back into a "cold war mentality." . . . And it is believed that Mayor **Richard Hatcher**'s decision not to join the White House staff and be Carter's personal link to the nation's blacks is also connected with deep criticism of Carter's new hawkishness. Hatcher is head of **TransAfrica**, a new black lobbying group dedicated—in large part—to bringing an end to white minority rule in southern Africa. . . . Carter, incidentally, has not been particularly well served with his white delegates to the UN Disarmament commission either. **George McGovern**'s idea of supporting the President's position on Africa is to call it "obsolete." McGovern has it on the good authority of **Fidel Castro** that the Cubans were not involved in the invasion of Zaire. If any one is subsequently able to prove to McGovern that the Cubans have lied to him, McGovern says, he will take that as a "personal insult." . . . Delegate **Paul Newman** finds the arms race "idiotic" and points out that the U.S. was "a lot more secure ten years ago with fewer missiles than we are now" (which suggests that Newman has not been told about Soviet advances in strategic weapons in those same ten years).

Gurbutt, *London Daily Telegraph* Rothco

"New Tokyo Airport . . . I am receiving you loud and clear."

■ The blacks will have to stand in line. Also unhappy with the President are: the **Jewish community**, **lawyers**, and **doctors**, and what that adds up to is money problems. . . . A large June 24 thousand-buck-a-head fundraiser in Los Angeles had to be cancelled after Carter's package jet sale to **Israel**, **Egypt**, and **Saudi Arabia** went through, and Democratic National Chairman **John White** admits that the presidential blast at lawyers and doctors—while popular with lots of people—has dried up another large potential source of campaign funds. . . . Hence, the addition of PR man **Jerry Rafshoon** to the White House staff.

■ Of interest: Despite the lousy publicity and the organized "Don't Buy a Book from a Crook" campaign, **Richard Nixon**'s *Memoirs* hit the Number Two spot on the *New York Times Book Review* best-seller list on June 11; in Washington, he slipped from Number 7 to Number 8. . . . General **John Singlaub** may have been retired early, but he hasn't been silenced. He will join the ACU's Defense Task Force upon retirement and also work for the American Security Council. . . . The death of Sen. **James Allen** was in every way a loss, but none more than on the Judiciary Committee where he was the ranking (and only) conservative Democrat. Other committee Democrats, in order of seniority: **James Eastland** (retiring), **Edward Kennedy**, **Birch Bayh**, **Robert Byrd**, **James Abourezk** (retiring), **Joseph Biden**, **John Culver**, **Howard Metzenbaum**, **Dennis DeConcini**, and **Paul Hatfield** (retired, June 6).

■ Of interest abroad: The Anti-Defamation League confirms that there wasn't a single Jew matriculating in the entering freshman class at the **University of Moscow** this year. . . . Exiled Soviet Gen. **Pyotr Grigorenko** fears that Soviet authorities will send "a black maria" in the very near future to arrest **Andrei Sakharov**. "It is clear that some kind of a process is being prepared [against him]." . . . And the magazine *To the Point* reports that there are more political prisoners in **Cuba** today than in **Argentina**, **Brazil**, **Uruguay**, and **Chile** together.

■ Putting it to the pointy-heads. When the *Washington Post* asked **George Wallace** to write his own political obituary, Wallace did so, commenting: "One of the reasons I suppose that I have had such a long political career is that every time I finished a campaign and sat down to rest, here would come the *Post*, barking at my feet and sinking its little Chihuahua teeth into my ankles. My friends thought my socks were made of seersucker."

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—David G. Roberts, Scientist

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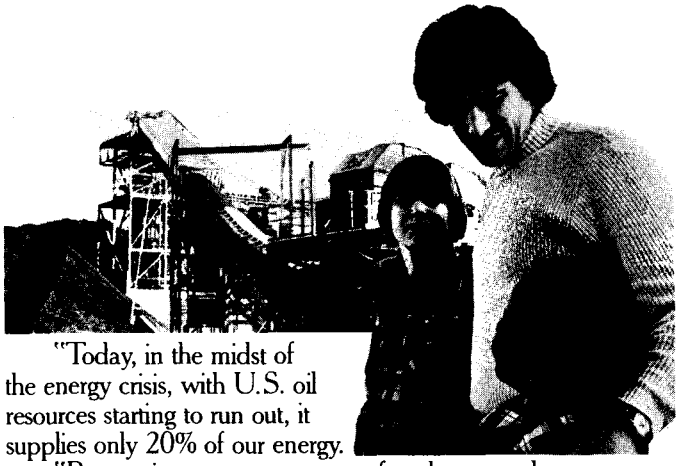

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"So, wherever feasible, electric companies are converting plants that run on oil and natural gas to coal. In this way, these precious fuels will last as long as possible—not only for transportation and heating, but for fertilizers, pharmaceuticals, and other useful applications.

"To meet the nation's rising power requirements, we will need 825 million tons of coal annually by 1985, as compared to half of that amount in 1975. Billions of dollars will be needed to get that coal out of the ground, to transport it, to create anti-pollution controls.

Coal can't do the job alone—we still need nuclear energy as a major source of electricity.

"Nuclear energy is the other proven source of electricity. For many sections of the country, it's the best and most economical source of power.

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THE WEEK

■ "Edward Brooke of Massachusetts—Integrity and Independence in the U.S. Senate"—the cover story in the most recent issue of *First Monday*, official publication of the Republican Party. What a scoop!

■ Sloppiness in Media: The night before the New Jersey primary, the *NBC Evening News* carried a story on it, concentrating heavily on the Democratic senatorial race where ex-basketball star Bill Bradley, a political unknown, was challenging Richard C. Leone, the organization candidate. NBC mentioned that the winner would take on veteran Republican liberal Senator Clifford Case, who was himself running against "a Reaganite," but was assured of nomination. NBC even took the time to show some clips of Bradley's Knicks career and of one of his TV commercials, showing him tossing a crumpled piece of paper through a hoop in a wastepaper basket. But it didn't find time to mention who it was who was running against Clifford Case, a violation of the prime rule of journalism, which is to get the Who, When, Where, and Why of a story up top. The missing Who in this case is Jeffrey K. Bell, the man who retired Clifford Case from political life on June 6, and the man Bill Bradley has to beat on November 7 if he is going to make it to the Senate.

■ Representative Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.), emerging as a national political figure, has visited Geneva, where he conferred with members of both the U.S. and Soviet SALT delegations. Returning to the U.S., Representative Kemp called upon the President to recess the SALT talks and reassess the U.S. position. Kemp is a member of the congressional SALT delegation, and he called attention to certain anomalies. The U.S., under the projected accords, will be prohibited from deploying heavy ICBMs, while the Soviets are permitted 326 such weapons; and Soviet Backfire bombers will not be included in the category of strategic weapons, while U.S. heavy bombers will be included. Said Kemp: "Bring home our negotiators."

■ MAIS OU SONT LES NEIGES D'ANTAN? "Braxton Valentine Jr., counsel to the Senate Ethics Committee, said today that the committee staff had not yet found that Senator Herman E. Talmadge had done anything improper in accepting funds from birthday dinners organized by his supporters or in accepting 'pocket money' while traveling in his home state of Georgia. 'There is no certainty that there has been any violation of Senate rules,' Mr. Valentine said. . . . Senator Talmadge has been the subject of an Ethics Committee inquiry since he acknowledged two weeks ago that he had routinely accepted small cash gifts throughout his 31-year public career. The investigation has since been widened to include examination of the Senator's birthday dinners from which he has received gifts totaling $7,500 in the last five years" (*New York Times*, June 5, 1978). "The Senate June 23 voted 92 to 5 to censure Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.) for using funds obtained 'from the public through testimonials and a political campaign . . . for his personal benefit.' Dodd was the sixth senator in U.S. history to be censured or condemned by the Senate [He was also a strong anti-Communist]. . . . A. S. Mike Monroney (D., Okla.) declared that the lack of a Senate regulation barring personal use of funds from testimonials did not 'mean that such a practice is proper.' If such a practice were condoned, he warned, 'we will have embarked down a road that will plague this body and all other free legislative bodies for scores of years!' " (*Facts on File*, June 22 to 28, 1967).

■ Move over, Urban League. The Lincoln Institute for Research and Education has other ideas about what should be the public policy goals that would benefit black Americans: free enterprise, and an array of middle-class values. Founded in January by author and businessman Jay Parker, the Institute will spread its gospel through research and teaching. Look for it.

■ The non-aligned nations are scheduled to meet next year in Havana, and the Kremlin has already made it known that at meeting's end it wants its Cuban poodle designated leader of the non-aligned. Somalia, however, has just kicked off a campaign to deny Castro and the Kremlin their blue ribbon. Speaking in Mogadishu, Somalia's Foreign Minister condemned Cuba as "the errand boy of the Warsaw Pact" and urged all African nations to boycott the Havana meeting. "The Cubans," said Abdul-salem Sheikh Hussein, in a sentence our UN ambassador should be required to recite whenever he feels the urge to comment on foreign affairs, "have killed more Africans by fighting in Africa during the past three years than the colonial powers killed in all their years of imperialism."

■ COMMUNISM WITH A HUMAN FACE: During the last

The Several Faces of Jimmy

Janus was two-faced;
Eve talked out of three . . .
  The clock at Grand Central has four.
Janus was Roman;
Eve went to a shrink;
  And Jimmy's for peace. Or for war.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Business and the rational mind, Part IV

Liberals, logical allies of business•The snobbery factor•A plea for independent thinking

We cannot, for the life of us, understand why so many liberals in this country are so hostile to private business, when in our opinion they should be working with business to achieve what should be their basic objectives.

Liberals have been among the prime movers in the enactment of much of this country's social legislation—Aid to Dependent Children, Social Security, housing for the poor and the elderly, school lunches, and other programs. All of these programs have to be financed by revenues derived mainly from taxes on individual and corporate income.

The greater these incomes—which is to say, the more prosperous American business is—the greater the tax revenues. When incomes drop, as in a recession, so do tax revenues. Social programs then have to be reduced accordingly or supported by deficit financing, which over any extended period means inflation. For the poor and for people living on fixed incomes, inflation is the cruelest tyranny of all.

It therefore would seem to us that in all logic liberals should be as pro-business as they are pro-social progress. And we believe many more of them would be if it were not so fashionable intellectually to be part of the "trendy left." Too many of them respond unthinkingly to social and academic pressures rather than engaging in clear, independent analysis.

Part of the problem appears to be snobbery, pure and simple. To many of what might be called the professional liberals, business—indeed, our whole industrial society—is impossibly vulgar. To some it is esthetically offensive. And because business can prosper only by serving the masses of people, some consider it unbearably plebeian.

Yet one of the continuing threads in the mainstream of liberal thought has long been a dedication to the democratic process and to the right of the masses of people to make their voice heard—and heard effectively. If people stop buying a company's goods or services on any large scale—or just make a credible threat to stop—that company's management tends to listen, and listen attentively. But if you think government is anywhere near as responsive, just recall your last encounter with your City Hall, or your maddening correspondence with a government agency.

Government can become so pervasive that it becomes virtually impossible for the citizenry to turn it around and change its course; indeed, ours may already have become so. But it's doubtful that business could ever get so big or so unresponsive, because it is subject to reaction in the marketplace and to public opinion generally, and to legislation that can curb an entire industry overnight.

What should be a tip-off to any thinking liberal is that an anti-business posture, complete with the cliches that too often substitute for thinking, is mandatory in many liberal circles and is not to be subjected to rigorous intellectual examination. It is a knee-jerk reaction, arising largely from conditions that ceased to exist many years ago and to some that never existed at all.

Lionel Trilling wrote: "It has for some time seemed to me that a criticism which has at heart the interest of liberalism might find its most useful work not in confirming liberalism in its sense of self-righteousness but rather in putting under some degree of pressure the liberal ideas and assumptions of the times."(*The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society,* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.)

We find puzzling the extent to which liberals often seem impelled to weaken the economic structure on which not just social progress, but indeed our national livelihood depends. To them we suggest the following, oversimplified but nevertheless pointing up the heart of the matter:

Without adequate profits, no businesses.

Without businesses, no jobs.

Without jobs, no social programs.

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Answer: The *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Post*, semantic imprecision and overkill, and a presidential harangue.

Question: What is the difference between the word "freeze" and the phrase "stand pat"?

At the end of the first week in June, the news in Washington centered on Jimmy Carter's unusual public tongue-lashing of the *Washington Post* for its front-page assertion that he had had to "freeze" SALT. The story, said an angry Carter to reporters summoned to the White House, was "totally inaccurate," and damaged his own and the nation's credibility. In response, *Post* executive editor Ben Bradlee, who refused all interview requests, issued a statement in which he said, naturally, that the *Post* was right and the President was wrong. The next day, after the story had become *the* story, the *Post* admitted editorially that the offending front page headline—"White House Imposes Freeze on Strategic Arms Talks"—was a bit too "hard" and "open-ended." Having made that admission however, the *Post* editorial went on to defend the use of the word "effectively" in the story's lead, "effectively to freeze," by maintaining that "effectively" is synonymous with "in effect," and concluded with an observation that perhaps comes closer than anything the *Post* has written to revealing the identity of its anonymous "authoritative sources" for a major story.

And for the moment, that's where the tempest in the saltshaker stands. The President has taken on the single most powerful voice of the Washington Establishment, something any President should do with trepidation. The *Post*, in response, is firing broadsides, exploiting the much discussed Brzezinski/Vance and Warnke rift for all it's worth, the thrust of its stories being to highlight what it views as a lack of leadership at the top, resulting in an Administration which, as the *Post* put it, "lends itself to leaks" and "to newspaper stories reflecting the veiled and changing reality."

Who is right? The answer seems to be both and neither. The President called the *Post* story "totally inaccurate." But it wasn't. For weeks, Brzezinski, Carter, and even Warnke—at a National Press Club newsmakers breakfast—have been letting the press know that because the Russians were behaving boorishly on the human rights and African fronts, negotiations of all sorts were in trouble. Further, before the *Post* story appeared, William Beecher of the *Boston Globe* had written essentially the same story, which had prompted a predictable State Department flurry but apparently no presidential wrath. The difference? The *Post* wrote that the President had decided to "freeze" SALT. The *Globe* reported that the Administration had decided to "stand pat." It is a distinction which could represent a profound difference. If you stand pat, it might mean you have played your best hand and it is now up to your opponent to make the next move. If you freeze the game, then your opponent can no longer raise you. "The story was *not* totally inaccurate as Carter maintained," says one respected correspondent. "But it was *written* wrong."

Why? Here we enter the realm of informed speculation. But there are a couple of conclusions to be drawn, among them that the two writers of the story can be trusted to draw on "authoritative sources," as they put it. One has been in and out of government and served on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where he maintains his contacts. The other writer is a former Moscow bureau chief and a respected Kremlinologist, with excellent sources in both camps. But in a story of this import, which sets out to question the President's credibility on the front page, Ben Bradlee would, it is believed, have had a hand in the finished product. And the consensus here is that Bradlee is the most likely source of the word "freeze."

Why? Here the speculation gets thicker. The *Post* has no Deep Throat (or Throats) in this White House, nor are its sources at the upper levels as numerous and reliable as the sources available to papers like the *Los Angeles Times*, whose bureau chief is a personal friend of Carter and his Georgians.

For a variety of reasons, relations between the *Post* and the White House are strained, with the *Post* no longer always the paper of Washington record. This reportedly galls Bradlee, who detests seeing stories which he believes he should have run first appearing in places like Boston. And so, the theory is, that when the *Post*'s reporters brought in their version of the *Globe* story, Bradlee hyped up the lead with words like "freeze," making up in sensationalism what he has lost in access. If so, there is one final solid conclusion to be drawn: Bradlee may have effectively (*not* in effect) frozen relations with the White House. —CATO

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couple of years Hanoi's efforts to relocate 1.33 million people have met increasing opposition, and so the Communists have decided to escalate. Under the new scheme, private business will be abolished, and 10 million Vietnamese comrades (many of them middle-class urban types) relocated in the New Economic Zones in the countryside. The idea is to dilute congested areas while populating uninhabited ones, and at the same time to remove bourgeois troublemakers from the cities. Hanoi claims to have had some success also in forcing the Montagnards—nomadic hill tribesmen—to quit their rambling ways and settle down. When the Saigon government tried the same thing, antiwar activists in the U.S. screamed "Atrocity!" Today, however, the Montagnards are the cause of no more indignation than if they were so many Gulag inmates.

■ Vladimir Ashkenazy, the pianist, renounced his Soviet citizenship in 1973, mainly because his Icelandic bride wanted to live in the West. Ashkenazy, the intellectual, soon gained access to information not available in the USSR and, studying it, felt betrayed. For several years he has made a serious hobby of studying the Soviet Union. "I don't claim to be a very good Kremlinologist," he says, "but perhaps I could be one if I spent my whole time at it. It's fascinating to study objectively—it's an unbelievable subject, ten miles deep. Before, I was just an adversary, but now I can see all the positive elements in a basically negative and oppressive situation. I now understand how much good they wanted to do and how it came out so disastrously. When I first found out things that I couldn't learn while I was in Russia, my reaction was shock, anger, and hostility. But that's not a creative

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Air travel in 1978, the 75th year of powered flight, will set all-time records. U.S. airlines in domestic and international service are carrying more than 700,000 passengers a day —that's two million a month more than last year.

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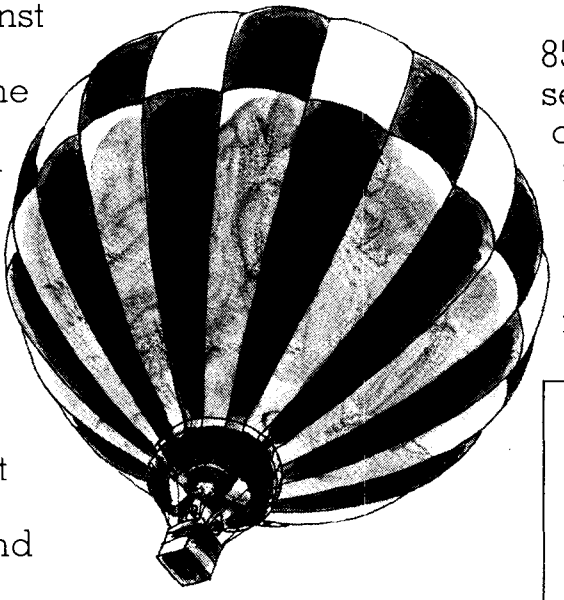

In the past 10 years, despite soaring costs, particularly fuel, the average air fare on U.S. carriers has gone up only 4.4% a year. By contrast, the Consumer Price Index during the same period has risen 6.2% per year—or 41% higher than air fares.

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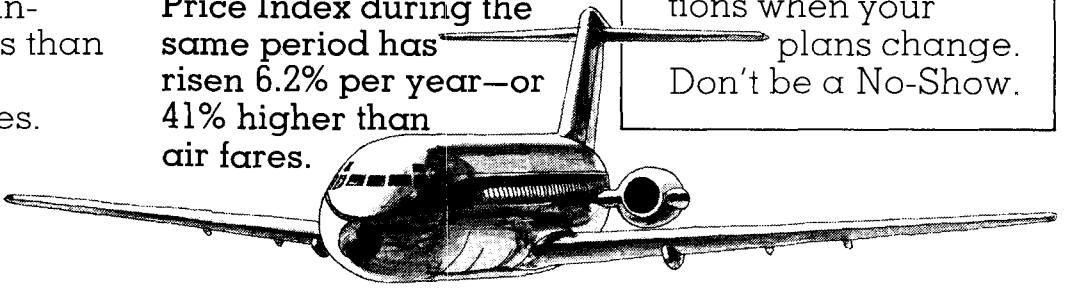

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attitude, not a stimulating attitude. The West and the United States in particular treat Russia as just another country. It's *not* just another country, and it's important we in the West understand that."

■ For tough-minded analysis of international politics one could do worse than the Foreign Policy Research Institute. Each year this group of scholars and analysts publishes distinguished essays on many of the hottest foreign policy issues. The Institute also publishes *Orbis*, a world affairs quarterly. Write to: FPRI, 3508 Market St., Science Center, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

■ With summer upon us, culture is blooming all over. French wine in foil packets is being introduced for sale in New York and Texas. The Los Angeles Rams have finally settled on a name for their new cheerleaders: the "Embraceable Ewes." A shopping center in Connecticut has unveiled an artistic "Ghost Parking Lot" with some parking slots filled with old cars covered with asphalt, which looks even worse than it sounds. The U.S. Treasury is trying to decide whose face to put on its new dollar coin which, appropriately, will be a little bigger than a quarter: Miss Liberty, Susan B. Anthony, and Elvis Presley lead the list of candidates.

■ San Diego Fraternal Order of Police Lodge 9 had a terrific bash planned. Police officers and their spouses were to dress up in, well, street clothes and swing at the "Pimps and Hookers Ball." But the police chief and other departmental drabs thought it was all in poor taste, and there went the party.

■ Meanwhile, some 25 vice officers had just concluded a meeting in a Minneapolis hotel on the subject of enforcing antiprostitution laws when they were approached by a woman who offered to entertain seven of them for $225. And there went another party.

■ Los Angeles Municipal Judge Mario Gonzalez has ruled that dog licenses are unconstitutional. The judge reasons that dog owners are denied equal protection of the law under the Fourteenth Amendment because "canaries, chinchillas, chipmunks, finches, gopher snakes, guinea pigs, hamsters, hawks, king snakes, marmoset monkeys, mynah birds, parrots, parakeets, amazons [eh?], cocateels, cockatoos, lories, lorikeets, love birds, macaws, steep legal eagles [eh??], toucans, turtles, white doves, pigs, cows, horses, [and] sheep do not have to be licensed."

■ We guess Andy Young, who is after all our UN ambassador, had to be part of the disarmament talks team. We can even, if we have no choice about it, swallow blue-eyed Paul Newman as a delegate. But George McGovern! That's giving surrender a bad name.

California, Here I Come

California ain't so dumb:
They gave Jerry Brown the thumb.
Their axes put taxes
  Deep in the shade;
They're plumping for dumping
  All those pols they over-paid, so
If they squeeze you in your states,
Jet out to those Golden Gates
Where they cut their housing rates . . .
California ain't so dumb.

W. H. von Dreele

Election Roundup

The trend was anti-Establishment. In Mississippi there was a crowded race for the nomination to fill retiring Senator Eastland's seat, and the most that can be said is that the candidate who had the backing of the Eastland forces did not win. Also in Mississippi the former Republican state chairman, Charles Pickering, went down to a humiliating defeat in the senatorial primary; the victor, Thad Cochran, picked up almost 70 per cent of the vote. City Hall ain't what she used to be. But there were cross-currents, as always. In Ohio the veteran James Rhodes easily won the Republican nomination for governor, and that old scapegrace Wayne Hayes enjoyed an easy victory in the nomination for the state legislature. And then there was New Jersey.

In New Jersey young conservative Jeff Bell pulled off the upset of the year by defeating old liberal Senator Clifford Case for the Republican senatorial nomination. Senator Case has been in politics since about 1902, has friends and hangers-on stashed all over the Eastern Seaboard and nesting in the ivy of a hundred colleges. He lost—Bell took 119,000 votes to Case's 115,000 (with about 95 per cent of the precincts reporting). Bell's campaign rested on astute use of media and articulate calmness of rhetoric. They sent a mailing to every household that had voted in the 1977 Republican gubernatorial primary (a list that took many man-hours to construct). Bell did unusually well—almost 60 per cent—in the northern, suburban counties. In the southern, rural, conservative Republican counties, Bell lost all but two; he got about 48 per cent down there, to be sure, but the established strength of the Republican Party carried the day for the oldtimer as against the upstart. Bell had only six full-time staffers. He made good use of television, too: in the New York and Philadelphia areas he spent $75,000 on television spots in the last seven days. And it was a people-effort: financed by about twenty thousand individual donors, with the average gift being about $12.

The most notorious contest was about Proposition 13,

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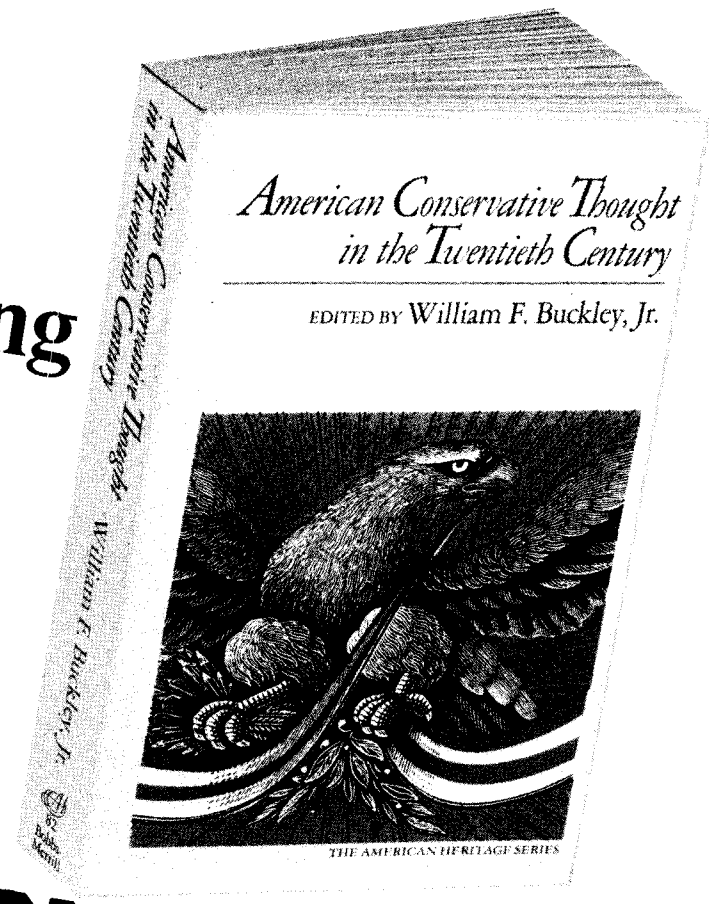
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the Jarvis-Gann amendment proposed in California. Against the screams and horror stories broadcast by the politicians and the press and the business community, Prop 13 carried by 2 to 1. That's the same big margin of victory that the spending-limit amendment racked up in Tennessee on March 7, and it probably represents the national mood: people, by 2 to 1, are disillusioned about government, tired of high taxes, and willing to "send a message" to the politicians.

The California vote gives us a chance to measure the actual results against the horrifying predictions of the pols. Some of the smarter pols, sensing in the final days of the campaign that Prop 13 was going to pass, began to back off from their wilder prophecies. *Of course* California can live with it. Governor Jerry Brown, no dummy, climbed aboard the bandwagon within minutes of the closing of the polls. The people have spoken, said he; they want us to tighten our belts, we'll tighten our belts. Within a fortnight the Democrats will make you think *they* invented spending-limitations.

A couple of cautions. 1) The idea of constitutional limitations on government isn't an automatic shoo-in. Eighteen days before the election, the pro and con forces were exactly balanced. Then the assessors sent out those shocking notices of increased assessments, and blew the camps twenty points apart. 2) Something like Prop 13 stands little chance of passing in other states. Circumstances in California were special (the recent rapid rise; the state surplus; the outrageous behavior of the pols).

But there's no doubt that the voters have begun to "send a message." Two dozen states are considering more moderate and more carefully crafted proposals to limit state spending and taxing, and the National Tax Limitation Committee has begun to assemble the brain-trust that will form the Drafting Committee for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The great tax revolt is growing fast, and the pols are terrified.

Education of a President

During the twenty or so years of what was termed "the cold war," the theorists spoke of the global power equilibrium as "bipolar." That "model" became our summary guide for comprehending what was happening in the world. As in an ordinary magnetic field, the primary concentrations of global power, both attracting and repelling, were the two poles: the Soviet Union and the United States.

When detente officially replaced cold war, the bipolar model became unfashionable. This came about in part because it had to be stretched and patched and twisted a good deal to accommodate some of the larger changes that were taking place in an always changing world. However, a more important defect in the old Model B-P was the difficulty of reconciling its imagery with the concept of detente. If the primary factor in world power dynamics is the opposition of the Soviet and American poles, how can there be "detente"—a relaxation of tension and growing harmony of forces?

The theorists therefore assigned themselves the job of building a new model appropriate to the new world of detente. The global equilibrium is no longer to be thought of as bipolar but as "multipolar," with sundry other poles —Third World, China, Southern Tier, Islam, Oil Producers—busily pulsing. The underlying, decisive factor in global affairs is no longer to be the Soviet-American confrontation, but rich nations *v.* poor nations, developed *v.* developing, the West *v.* Afro-Asia, the energy crisis, the struggle for raw materials, global inflation and stagflation, overpopulation, OPEC, changes in the weather cycle, whites *v.* non-whites, or some mixture of these and other elements favored by this or that enterprising analyst.

In his campaign and during the first year of his Presidency, Jimmy Carter's remarks on global affairs kept within the detente mode and avoided any throwbacks to the bipolar model. We had been too preoccupied with the Soviet Union, he told us. There was no reason for us to fear Communism. We should be paying more attention to our West European allies, to Japan, to the ambitious, rapidly strengthening nations emerging in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Somehow, though, every time a sticky problem arose in global relations, we would find the Soviets or Communism at its core. What could be done with the defense of Western Europe if Eurocommunism came to power in France and Italy? It was none of our business if Angola wanted to cut loose from Portugal; but what about the Soviet-backed and -trained outfit that took Portugal's place, the Soviet advisors that gave the direction, and the Soviet's Cuban mercenaries who not only put the new crowd in office but settled down with them? Then those troubles in the Horn of Africa: also, in themselves, nothing for us to get very upset about, except that suddenly the Soviet crowd and their Cubans turn up in force. The Rhodesian business is too minor to bother with . . . except that the Russians and Cubans are likely

If You Mean It, Jimmy

Get rid of Paul Warnke;
  Cashier Andrew Young;
Give Vance support stockings
  For when he's un-strung.
Get on with the N-bomb;
  Revive the B-1,
And when you're abroad,
  Set your phaser on "stun."

W. H. von Dreele

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to move in with the guerrillas if we don't do *something*.

It is easy to sympathize with anyone who wants to oppose Mobutu, but once more those events in Shaba trace back to Soviet roots. And surely a coup in Afghanistan is not our problem—or wouldn't be, but the new dictators turn out to be "hard core, pro-Soviet Communists," according to the reports of Western intelligence officers, and Afghanistan is the traditional threshold for Russian thrusts toward the Indian subcontinent and toward Iran and the Persian Gulf. Then, somehow, the terrorists always seem to carry out their assaults with Soviet or Czech weapons, and so many of them have had KGB training and funds. And the Soviet rearmament goes relentlessly on, SALT talks or no SALT talks, and when the West European nations watch, they see the weapons massed on their frontier, and they wait for the American President to tell them how to defend themselves. And, in the Soviet Union, talk about human rights is the surest ticket to a Siberian labor camp or a KGB psychiatric ward.

And so it goes. In these last four months, the presidential rhetoric has been undergoing a sea change. The abandoned bipolar model raises its ugly frame. Jimmy Carter begins to absorb the lesson that every President since World War II has had to learn: that, though there are hundreds of events on the global calendar in our era, the main match is Soviets *v.* U.S. It is simplistic to suppose that nothing else counts, but the strategist must locate the key to the situation. Kabul, Kolwezi, Belgrade, Salisbury, Addis Ababa, Luanda, Havana, Jerusalem: these cannot be neglected, but in the last analysis it is Moscow and Washington that will decide.

It could not be otherwise. The United States and the Soviet Union alone have the population, territory, resources, industry, technology, location, and panoply of ultra-weapons to constitute them the superpowers. However flawed, they express fundamentally opposite conceptions of the nature of man and the social order. Given those realities, detente can only be a passing illusion. This is the harsh lesson the events of the recent months have been trying to teach Jimmy Carter and the rest of us.

What Can Be Done?

In a famous speech President Nixon held out the prospect that the United States could become a "pitiful, helpless giant" if it were defeated in Vietnam. Objectively speaking, both militarily and economically, the United States is anything but a pitiful, helpless giant. Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the fall of Saigon, it has been behaving like one, behaving, now, like a largely helpless Gulliver, immobilized by Castro's Cuban Lilliputians.

On the facts before us few disagree, certainly not President Carter. In Africa, Cuba—of all improbable sources—is generally agreed to have deployed over 40,000 troops. Most of them are stationed in Angola, armed with advanced Soviet and East bloc weapons; other Cuban troops range widely, from Ethiopia, where they are in action against Eritrean and Somalian forces, to Zambia, where they are openly training Joshua Nkomo's Rhodesian terrorists.

Both Soviet Ambassador Gromyko (committing a reprise of his brazen lie to President Kennedy during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis) and Cuban Vice President Carlos Rodriguez have insulted civilized intelligence in flatly denying any Cuban (Soviet) involvement in the recent slaughter in Shaba province; but, as Lenin once said, telling the truth is a bourgeois habit if a lie helps achieve a goal.

The truth is that no serious military attack upon Shaba province could have been launched from Angola without Cuban connivance; and that would be surprising if it did

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not require Soviet acquiescence. The Cuban army runs Angola. Without it the Marxist regime of President Agostinho Neto would not last 24 hours. Admiral Stansfield Turner, Director of CIA, has satisfied the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee on Cuban involvement.

In Shaba province the invaders did not, this time, intend to occupy and hold the territory, and they accomplished their political goal. Zaire depends economically upon the mines and minerals of Shaba. Terrorized by the brutality of the invaders, however, hundreds of European technicians and mining engineers have fled, many of them never to return. A serious, perhaps crippling blow has been struck against the pro-Western Zaire government.

What is to be done? Almost with one voice, Western liberal-Left opinion answers: nothing.

President Carter deserves praise for supporting NATO, Moroccan, and other backing for Zaire, and for providing American logistical support. If the Soviet-Cuban African enterprise is a serious one, however, and sustained in an escalating way, such measures are likely to be insufficient. Others are available.

In October 1937, faced with mounting menaces and aggressive acts from the Axis powers and from Japan, President Franklin Roosevelt delivered his famous Quarantine the Aggressors speech. The time may be at hand for another one.

If the present tempered measures fail before a resolute Soviet-Cuban will, it would be appropriate for the President, after NATO consultation, to make a speech like the following:

He should pronounce the Cuban imperial role totally unacceptable to the United States.

He should state that all U.S. representatives in Cuba have been recalled and that all trade and diplomatic conversations have ceased.

He might note, and this is common knowledge, that Fidel Castro considers himself a potential Third World Napoleon figure, and that Castro is energized by resentment of the United States.

Turning to Africa, the President should note the presence in Angola of a liberation movement of substantial character under the leadership of Jonas Savimbi, a movement which already controls much of the countryside. He should ask Congress to repeal the Clark amendment, and request funds to support Savimbi with weapons and matériel. Properly supplied, Savimbi might bleed the Cubans white.

Finally, the President should observe that if all such measures prove insufficient, a total blockade of Cuba cannot be excluded.

But, he should continue, Cuba is only a symptom of the disease, not its cause. Without Soviet backing, Cuban imperialism would be a joke.

Therefore, if, after a period of grace, the aggression

S. KELLEY THE DAILY DARTMOUTH
A MODEST PROPOSAL FOR STRAIGHTENING ITALY'S LEANING TOWER THROUGH THE USE OF SIMPLE COUNTERWEIGHTS...
TERRORISTS

does not come to an end, the President should say, we are taking the following steps with regard to the Soviets: 1) suspending all SALT talks; 2) reversing previous decisions and pressing ahead with such advanced weapons as the neutron bomb, the long-range cruise missile, and the B-1 bomber; 3) canceling all commercial and technology-transfer arrangements with the Soviets; 4) recalling indefinitely our ambassador in Moscow, leaving a caretaker staff; 5) boycotting the 1980 Moscow Olympics; and 6) doubling our Research and Development appropriation.

Such a speech would make it clear to the American people that we are engaged in a military-political struggle with a regime that is *not* like other regimes, and should not be treated as if it were.

Tuition Tax Credit (cont'd)

The tuition tax credit bill cruised through the House, 237 to 158, and is now awaiting the approval of the Senate, where the reception is expected to be even warmer. Although the Senate will probably make the bill even sweeter to taxpayers, the version the House approved allows parents of college students to reduce their federal income taxes by up to 25 per cent of the amount they spend on tuition and fees, up to a maximum of $100 a student this year and $150 in 1980. By a vote of 209 to 194, the House also approved an amendment to extend the tax break to parents of elementary and secondary school children, granting them a maximum tax credit of $50 this year and $100 in 1979 and 1980. In the House debate over the bill, its opponents repeated their usual charge that it was a ploy to "resegregate public schools," a cry they have been making ever since the bill was first proposed.

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In the midst of all the platitudes about the threats the bill posed to inner-city poor, a small Catholic school located in a high-crime area in Chicago's inner city received word that it would soon be forced to close its doors. The Chicago Building Department informed the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago that Providence-St. Mel High School required extensive rehabilitation, estimated by the diocese to cost about $200,000. In a letter to St. Mel's principal the Archdiocese explained that it could no longer afford to continue supporting the school. If a fund appeal doesn't work, Providence-St. Mel, a school that sends 85 per cent of its graduates on to college, will go the way of the 27 other Catholic schools the Chicago Archdiocese has been forced to close in the past seven years.

It seems reasonable to assume that if the tuition tax credit indeed threatens bad public schools, it might go far toward saving economically marginal, but very good, private ones.

Offensive Christianity

A small incident involving the President's sister tells us a great deal about the state of the country, and then some.

Ruth Carter Stapleton had been invited to address a convention of Hebrew Christians—Christians converted from Judaism who were, presumably, consenting adults. The group, B'nai Yeshua, was to meet at Stony Brook, Long Island.

The prospect of Mrs. Stapleton's appearance infuriated a number of Jews, none of them participants in the convention. Some of them, cranks, phoned anonymous threats. Others, however, cannot be so dismissed. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, of the staid American Jewish Committee, wrote Mrs. Stapleton to assert that B'nai Yeshua's evangelism among other Jews "constitutes an ultimate threat to [sic] the spiritual liquidation of the Jews." Publicly, he added: "There are only 14 million Jews in the world today. We cannot afford to lose one or ten."

Jewry is not an evangelistic creed, but a people, which increases biologically. Its existence has often been precarious, and given its recent persecutions—not to mention the total disappearance of so many less cohesive peoples over millennia—the anxieties are not to be despised. When six million are murdered, the deficit can't be made up by conversions. Perhaps it is even pardonable from this point of view for Rabbi Tanenbaum to equate conversion to Christianity with "liquidation."

Yet that, to put it bluntly, is the Christian mission: conversion, Gospel, preaching the good news to every living creature. Far from excluding Jews, the Christian faith originated among them: Jesus and the Evangelists were Jews. The mission to the whole world is not an afterthought or application of Christianity: it is of the essence. In a sense it *is* Christianity. Even Protestants hold that the church is "catholic," for all mankind—not excluding Jews, as the Hebrew Christians realized.

But Mrs. Stapleton cancelled her appearance. "I am a Christian," she explained, "and my faith stems from my perception of God's love through Jesus Christ. Yet I have never attempted in any way to negate the faith and practices of any other group, however far they might be removed from my own personal beliefs." This is harder to make sense of than Rabbi Tanenbaum's position. She is a Christian who had been invited by other Christians to celebrate their common faith. Yet she is now willing to call that activity a "negation" of the religion even of people who were not present and had no business interfering. As a condition of co-existence with other religions, she in effect agreed to abridge the practice of her own.

Our understanding of pluralism is that it does not require the subordination of Christianity to Judaism. Our understanding of Christianity is that it does very much require the believer to bear witness to Christ. It may be that Mrs. Stapleton was merely shocked and nonplussed by the angry bullying she received, or that she decided it was better, under the circumstances, to avoid giving offense than to keep the scheduled date. But it was not she who sinned against religious freedom, nor the Hebrew Christians who invited her: it was those who tried to depict *her* religious practice as a form of religious persecution.

The wonder of it is that other Christians showed not the slightest inclination to support the rights of Mrs. Stapleton and B'nai Yeshua. The apparent inference is that a good many American Christians are loath to incur the wrath of their neighbors by affirming Christ's love—as if Christ had died only for those who are already members of the parish. John Murray Cuddihy's *No Offense* (reviewed in this issue) discusses civility as an extension of charity; this incident reminds us again of the distinction, when charity is willfully taken as a sin against civility. Ironically enough, it was Rabbi Tanenbaum who termed B'nai Yeshua, yes, "offensive."

CPUSA: Nostalgia Chic

The blacks, the gays, liberated women, the elderly, the handicapped—all have leaped out of the closet of cultural science into the sunlight of publicity. And now Joe Stone, writing in *Rolling Stone* (June 1), identifies the latest closet-burster.

It's none other than American Communism. "Following the example of the women's and gay liberation movements, and in keeping with the confessional nature of the decade, new closets have begun to creak open. Old

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lefties are stepping out. People who once called themselves 'progressive' and let everyone wonder what they *really* meant are now finding it fashionable to admit that they were Communists. . . .

"I suppose we should have seen it coming when Barbra Streisand played a member of the Young Communist League in *The Way We Were*, but a strange thing has happened: the Communist Party (U.S.A.) which was seen as a dagger pointed at the heart of America in the Fifties and as something of a joke in the Sixties, has become—like virtually everything else in the Seventies—a nostalgia piece, a curio. Over the past year, all sorts of books have appeared reminiscing about the good old days in the party."

Joe Klein mentions Jessica Mitford's *A Fine Old Conflict*, Peggy Dennis' *The Autobiography of an American Communist*, and Vivian Gornick's *The Romance of American Communism*. Come on out, Alger. Yoohoo in there . . .

Jim Allen RIP

They buried Jim Allen in Gadsden, Alabama on a Tuesday in early June, ten years to the day since he first won nomination to the United States Senate. It is a loss his friends, his state, his country suffer in the passing not only of the man but of the extraordinary gifts he brought to the Senate and the system; though, as I recall, winning nomination to high office wasn't always in his repertoire of political talents.

I remember another late spring—dear Lord, nearly a quarter of a century ago—one of those frenetic Alabama political seasons featuring populist divertissements for entertainment-hungry crowds gathered on courthouse lawns and at backwoods barbecues. In those days, everyone who wanted to be anyone in Southern politics was a Democrat; so there I was, a young public relations man not long out of law school, called in to counsel a candidate whose campaign was sagging.

There were, understand, three candidates named James running for governor. One, the eventual winner, called himself "Big Jim." He campaigned with a hillbilly band and held the courthouse lawn crowds spellbound with thundering downhome rhetoric about soaking the "Big Mule" rich folks. A second James, cuddlingly called "Jimmy," attracted audiences by answering questions from a portable glass enclosure, the very latest in political gimmickry. Finally there was Allen. He was well over six feet tall, almost bearlike. But no one who knew him well ever thought of calling him "Big Jim," and certainly never "Jimmy."

Indeed, in a carnival-like campaign Jim Allen was a candidate with a shortage of requisite political talents, and there was nothing a public relations man, young or old, could do about it. For he was one of those rare oddities in modern politics, a fixed image: meaning, he was himself and none other. Publicly and privately, to the day he died, he remained a man of quiet dignity, reserved but straightforward, warm but not effusive: a servant of the system, given to the intricacies, not the flourish, of his calling.

So he lost that race 24 years ago, returned to the practice of law, and that was that; except that Jim Allen, as his adversaries in parliamentary debate invariably learned to their sorrow, was a man of inordinate patience and persistence. And, fortunately for the country, Alabamans operate on a different political frequency when they go to the polls to elect U.S. senators. In 1968, following a second term as lieutenant governor, Allen ran for the Senate. Again his campaign style was plodding, his stump speeches more informative than entertaining. But what he lacked in charisma, he more than made up in character.

We will miss him for that, as much as for his making the Senate work as it was intended to work, by giving renewed meaning to the phrase "legislative process." For he was a needed reminder of a time when the word, not the image, gave order to our system; when form, not style, was valued. A gentleman, as they say, of the old school. No orator, true; but in a pinch over my immortal soul I would take the gentleman from Alabama as my advocate over Daniel Webster any day. By the time Jim was half through challenging that stacked jury, the Devil would throw in the towel. —VICTOR GOLD

Notes & Asides

Address, Commencement Exercises, Notre Dame University, May 21, 1978

Father Hesburgh, ladies and gentlemen of the graduating class.

Today is a happy event, a witness to your achievement; and, in this, we share your pleasure, even while recognizing that today's formality is less than sacramental in meaning. It is, rather, an academic episode, with civil overtones. You began your learning a long while ago. You will continue to learn after you have left Notre Dame. Before today you became aware of the mysteries of history and the keennesses of the human experience. After today your perceptions will continue to sharpen, and, even while enjoying bread, wine, love, poetry, the air we breathe, and the season's changes, gradually you will begin to understand why it is that so many men grow weary. "*History hit us with a freight train*," Whittaker

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Chambers wrote me, one month before he died. . . "*We*" —he continued "*—my general breed—tried to put ourselves together again. But at a price—weariness.*" Life, he is telling us, goes on. "*People tend to leave Oedipus, shrieking with the blood running down his cheeks—but I was about 23 when I discovered, rather by chance, that Oedipus went on to Colonnus. Camus must have been about nine while I sat reading the Oedipus at Colonnus. But each of us, according to his lights, was arrested in time by the same line—the one in which Oedipus, looking out from precarious sanctuary after long flight, sums up: 'Because of my great age, and the nobility of my mind, I feel that all will be well.' One cannot*"—said Chambers about himself, even though few men qualified more conspicuously than he, "*pretend to live at that height. And yet, to reach it even at times is something . . . [But] there remains the price—the weariness I mentioned which none of us complain about, but should take good care not to inflict on other people's lives.*"

SO WHY INFLICT it on you? As a gentle, not to say penitential, demurral from the words uttered from this space one year ago, when the speaker said to your graduating predecessors, as if the struggle was won, that, I quote him, ". . . *we have found our way back to our own principles and values, and we have regained our lost confidence.*"

Where is the evidence?

Earlier in his address the speaker had said that, "*being confident of our own future, we are now free of that inordinate fear of Communism which led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in our fear.*" If we are so confident of our own future, why does he tell us that life and death await the results of our SALT negotiations? The President of the United States went on to say that "*for too many years we have been willing to adopt the flawed principles and tactics of our adversaries, sometimes abandoning our values for theirs. We fought fire with fire, never thinking that fire is better fought with water. This approach failed, with Vietnam the best example of its intellectual and moral poverty.*"

Herewith a few observations:

1. In August of 1973 Lord Home, opening the great conference on European Security at Helsinki, spoke these words to the assembly: "*If your conference is essentially about people and about trust, then it is essential that we should do something to remove the barriers which inhibit the movement of people, the exchange of information and ideas.*" Elaborating on these sentiments one month later before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Lord Home said. "*I trust that the Communist countries will be able to prove that they are for the basic freedom of people everywhere.*"

Two years later the Helsinki Accords were promulgated.

Last week Yuri Orlov, a Soviet citizen who undertook to monitor Soviet compliance with the terms of accord the Soviet government had initiated, and then signed, was sentenced to seven years of hard labor, to be followed by five years of exile in Siberia. He was not allowed independent counsel, was not permitted to question his accusers, was held incommunicado for the 15 months preceding his conviction. He was tried in a courtroom in which the words of Lord Home were mocked, and from which the press, charged with expediting the "exchange of information" of which Lord Home had sung at Helsinki, was matter-of-factly excluded. To be sure, the family were present. The wife of Yuri Orlov was in the courtroom. On Thursday, leaving the chamber, she was stripped naked by three Soviet women officials in the presence of three male Soviet officials, and searched. Perhaps she was suspected of carrying the text of the Helsinki Accords in her underpants. May we suppose that Yuri Orlov's fear of Communism has not proved to be inordinate?

2. A week ago Saturday, the *New York Times* published an extensive dispatch collating information, gathered from numerous observers, on recent doings in Cambodia. There in Cambodia in recent months there have been aggravated shortages. Of the usual things—food, fuel, shelter, medicine; to be sure. But most pressing, it appears, has been the shortage of ammunition with which to kill Cambodian civilians. Accordingly, on orders of the government, headed by Cambodia's ruler Pol Pot, the Cambodian militia has shown great economic ingenuity. Instead of wasting precious ammunition, tens of thousands of men and women suspected of having been related in some way—perhaps they had gone to school together, or grown up in the same hamlet—to men who had resisted the Khmer Rouge, tens of thousands have been clubbed to death while standing, arms tied behind their backs, in ditches they have thoughtfully dug out to receive their imminent remains. The younger children of these men and women, we are informed, are bounced about playfully on the bayonets of the soldiers until they are dead, or almost dead, upon which they are tossed into the common ditches. Pol Pot does not devote the whole of his time to overseeing this enterprise in population control. He is otherwise engaged, at least one part of the time, for instance, as guest of honor recently in Peking at a banquet tendered by the rulers of the People's Republic of China who, now that we have got over our inordinate fear of Communism and our corollary addiction to dictators, we are finally ready to embrace.

Who, contemplating Cambodian hell alongside official optimism, can get by without feeling the cold wind of weariness?

3. In the period since the Class of 1977 was informed that we are now "*confident of our own future*," having "*found our way back to our own principles and values*"; enabling us therefore to eschew the use of fire against

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fire, our ideals repristinated by the pledge to use only water, we have diluted the Voice of America, which no longer fires the libertarian spirits of the Yuri Orlovs; instead, in the spirit of detente, dousing them with water, cold cold water. We have watered the little Cuban garden in Africa, and now its blooms decorate much of the continent. In Europe, by way of expressing our confidence, we have risen above the vulgar attractions of enhanced radiation technology, having previously soared above even the stratospheric reaches of the B-1 bomber. And we have given concrete form to our contempt for anti-Communist dictators by embracing the democratic leaders of Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, and hailing our purposes in common.

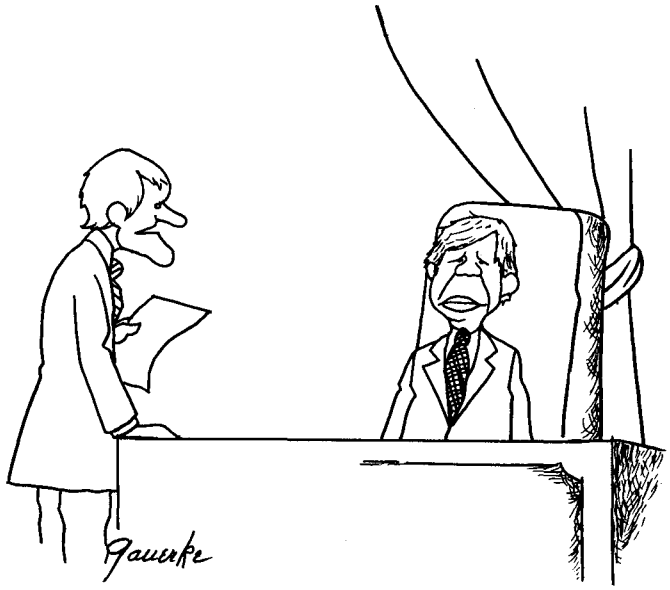
In the groves of quiet thought we tell ourselves—quietly—that we care about all this. Care about poor Orlov, about the new holocaust in Cambodia, about the creeping hegemony of Communist thought and techniques in both hemispheres. But ours is a fugitive solicitude, whose expression is damped by the prevailing rhetoric, which is one part evangelistic, one part pharisaic, one part anaesthetic. Our foreign policy is bad enough. The rhetoric of our foreign policy is, if not the efficient cause of, then the sufficient reason for, the three-martini lunch.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I can give you on this feast day—like Our Lady's Juggler—only that little I have to offer. It is, at this juncture in history, the settled view that we have traveled further—much further—than ever we really intended to go when we began our retreat from the Wilsonian idea. Two hundred years ago we proclaimed the universality of those truths we hold about the nature of man. One hundred and fifty years ago President John Quincy Adams cooled a burgeoning national idealism with the astringent observation that though the American people are friends of liberty everywhere, they are custodians only of their own. The most explicit modern expression of Wilsonianism was quite recently uttered—during your infancy—by John F. Kennedy, at his inaugural, when he cried out to the world that we Americans will "*pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.*" This was an objective commitment by a chief executive.

But surely he acknowledged the awful weight of that commitment?

On the contrary: "*In the long history of the world,*" he continued, "*only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it.*"

Well then, instead of going forward burdened down by a great weight, our mission transports us. Will our idealism prove contagious?



"More bad news. The latest poll says that if the election were to be held today, you'd get 42% of the vote and Nixon would get 58%."

There was no hesitation on the morning of the 20th of January, 1961: "*The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.*"

Looking back, it is as if the glow from that fire had been routinely blacked out by the Department of Energy. Granted, it is everywhere agreed nowadays that our marines cannot be made available to axe down anti-democratic growths in the halls of Montezuma. But neither are our short-wave facilities available to transmit the record of non-compliance with the Helsinki Accords. In our retreat, there were those who thought to modify our idealism by suggesting practical alternatives. Senator William Fulbright, during the most despondent period of the Vietnam War, articulated a useful distinction when he said that the American Government has no proper quarrel with any country in the world, no matter how obnoxious its domestic doctrines, so long as that country does not seek to export them. Under the Fulbright mandate, we are charged to contain Cuba, while ignoring Haiti. Contain Cuba where?

Our immobility, our incoherence, is more, merely, than the consequence of strategic indecisiveness and rhetorical confusion. What happened, during the Johnson-Nixon years, was a great seizure of self-disgust which fused handily with the new-found exigencies of our foreign policy. Even as, a generation earlier, during a brief period when it was politically convenient to do so, we had looked tolerantly on "old Joe," the grand engineer of Gulag for whom President Truman publicly professed a certain fondness, this time we discovered, far more profoundly, the great society of Mao Tse-tung, concerning whose material achievements there may be differences

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of opinion, but concerning one achievement, none at all. Under Mao the Chinese achieved the total suppression of every liberty catalogued in our own Bill of Rights: none to practice one's religion, to speak out, to read, to educate oneself, to travel, to own land or a home, to trial by due process. But our wise men traveled there, poets, priests, and piccolo players, returning with expressions of undiluted praise: Richard Nixon, John Kenneth Galbraith, Seymour Topping, Harrison Salisbury, Barbara Tuchman, Shirley MacLaine. My favorite of the lot is James Reston, who perfectly expressed the veneration of the new by means of the rejection of the old. He wrote, "*I am a Scotch Calvinist. I believe in the redemption of the human spirit and the improvement of man. Maybe it's because I believe that, or I want to believe it, that I was struck by the tremendous effort* [in the China of Mao Tse-tung] *to bring out what is best in men, what makes them good, what makes them cooperate with one another and be considerate and not beastly to one another.*" Those words were spoken in 1971, even before the Cultural Revolution could be said to have ended.

So that our retreat has been not only from the practical evangelism of Wilson, but even from a metaphorical commitment to Wilsonianism, as witness the reluctance of the President to speak about human rights where they are most systematically suppressed—in China. Slowly, disillusionment comes, and for those who have charged so often up the mountain, only to come down again, weariness is experienced. The fire that John Kennedy shouted out would illuminate the whole world, flickers here at home. Not only shall we withdraw our troops from Southeast Asia, we shall look if not quite benignly, at least the other way, as the societies we abandon get down to the business of transforming men, according to the vision of James Reston and the Bishop of Cuernavaca, who proposed the canonization of Chou En-lai. On odd days, the State Department or the White House will issue demurrals, often self-described as "strong protests." But mostly our talk is an endless extension of the homily with which Lord Home launched the Helsinki conference. Our leaders wish to say to the oppressors of this world that they must not continue in their oppression. Because if they do?—our statesmen will have nothing to talk about at Commencement addresses.

THIS, I THINK, is the demon that made Whittaker Chambers weary, this dialectic helplessness; you see what ought to be done, you shrink from the exertions required to do it, you compensate by elevating your rhetoric, whose inevitable hollowness subverts the very ideals that animated you. This experience, Sisyphean in our time, brought Chambers to predict that that weariness would almost certainly in due course strike out at his more sensitive countrymen.

But in your case, not yet; not nearly yet. It isn't only that you are young, and properly hopeful. Your education has been touched by those intimations of purpose, divine and irreversible, that make hope natural, and despair sinful. "*And I heard a great voice from the throne saying, 'Behold, the dwelling of God is with men, He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God himself will be with them; He will wipe away every tear from their eyes. . . '*" Whatever the reasons for objective concern, the imperative continues. In the first month that I knew Whittaker Chambers he wrote me that "*it is idle to talk about preventing the wreck of Western civilization. It is already a wreck from within. That is why we can hope to do little more now than snatch a fingernail of a saint from the rack or a handful of ashes from the faggots, and bury them secretly in a flowerpot against the day, ages hence, when a few men begin again to dare to believe that there was once something else, that something else is thinkable, and need some evidence of what it was, and the fortifying knowledge that there were those who, at the great nightfall, took loving thought to preserve the tokens of hope and truth.*"

SEVEN YEARS LATER, the final paragraph of his final letter—after he confessed his weariness from which, before the month was out, he would be forever reprieved, was a sharp reproach, which I pass along to those of you who flirt with melancholy. "*Something quite different which struck me*," he wrote "—*what seems to have been your desolation by* [*Malraux's novel*] Man's Fate. *But Hemmelrich goes back (supreme tenderness) to close the door left too hastily open on the bodies of his murdered wife and son. Tchen, about to throw himself and* [*the*] *bomb under the automobile, believes that Pei (spared to life because Tchen acts alone) will be able to write more meaningfully by reason of Tchen's act. Kyo takes the cyanide with the sense that the concept of man's dignity enjoins control over his own death. Katow, surrendering even that ultimate, divides his cyanide with those less able to bear man's fate; and walks toward the locomotive* [*into whose furnace he will, by his executioners, be dropped alive*] *through a hall of bodies from which comes something like an unutterable sob—the strangled cry. It may also be phrased: 'And the morning stars sang together for joy.' It may also be phrased: 'Il faut supposer Katow heureux,'* "—One must assume that Katow was a happy man; even as [Camus concluded], "'*Il faut supposer Sisiphe heureux*' "—one must assume that Sisyphus was a happy man. "*For each age*," Chambers concluded, "*finds its own language for an eternal meaning.*"

You will contribute to the formulation of your own idiom for our times. Make room in it—for the love of God—for the love of God; for the love of our fragile and embattled and wonderful country; and for this university, which has cared so deeply for you.

—WFB

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Breaching the Great Wall

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

DURING HIS *Meet the Press* interview following his trip to China last month, Zbigniew Brzezinski stated that he had had 14 hours of confidential discussion with Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Senior Deputy Prime Minister Teng Hsiao-ping, and Foreign Minister Huang Hua. The Chinese are masters of symbolic politics. Even if absolute silence had been preserved throughout those meetings, the publicized fact of their duration would have carried a decipherable significance.

The rulers of the Middle Kingdom do not spend 14 hours with a barbarian to exchange ceremonial platitudes. Last month's encounter in Peking was a notification by both the Chinese and American governments that the time is at hand for a major turn in their relationship—not a new turn, strictly, but a further swing in the course initiated by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger.

At a banquet given in Peking by Foreign Minister Huang Hua, Brzezinski stated the destination: "The President . . . is determined to join you in overcoming the remaining obstacles in the way of full normalization. The U.S. has made up its mind on this issue." "Full normalization": that is, formal diplomatic recognition, along with active economic and cultural relations. For some while after Mao's death in 1976 the intricate tapestry being woven by his successors was unintelligible to outsiders. Though we should never presume, in estimating the Chinese, that we have uncovered all mysteries, some elements of the design have by now become reasonably clear. The Struggle against the Gang of Four was, in at least one dimension, a graduated break with the more doctrinaire aspects of Maoism, which had got stuck in a nostalgic charade of the primitive phase of the Revolution.

Compared with their predecessors, the new rulers are pragmatic; they judge policies, at least up to a point, by how they work out in practice. They are giving a freer rein to scientists and engineers. They are sending bright students back to college instead of to the rice paddies.

They want more foreign technology, expertise, machines, and weapons. They want to speed development of their offshore oil fields, and are seeking deals to that purpose. They are sending military-industrial commissions to Western Europe to survey prospects for purchases of more advanced weapons than they possess. Sources in Hong Kong, China's chief outlet to the world, report the increasing scale of their operations in that booming enclave where Chinese Communists already control much of the economy.

Getting Back to the World

The new rulers display the Sino-Soviet rift as unhealed. In international forums as well as their domestic media, the sharpest attacks are directed against the Soviet Union. Their most frequent criticism of the U.S. and other Western nations is for failure to be firm enough toward the Kremlin. Last month the Defense Minister declared that "war with the Soviet Union is inevitable."

Confronting an unfriendly China, the Soviet Union is compelled to keep more than a million soldiers and tens of thousands of tanks, planes, and missiles deployed on its eastern front. It is impossible to exaggerate the role of this split-up of Soviet military power for the security of Western Europe and more generally for the global equilibrium.

"Normalization" is perhaps not the right word: it is impossible for a non-Communist government to have altogether normal relations with a Communist government. But it has become an obsolescent absurdity for the U.S. not to have full diplomatic relations with the Chinese government that, without serious challenge, has held power in Mainland China for 29 years, and is moving along policy lines that could benefit both sides.

As everyone knows, there is one and only one major difficulty in completing the Peking-Washington connection. It is alleged that there cannot be full relations between Mainland China and the U.S. unless the U.S. "abandons" and "sacrifices" Taiwan. The usual way of putting the issue suggests that our diplomatic exchange with Peking would be followed in months by Mainland China's conquest and absorption of Taiwan.

This outlook is fanciful. No matter what the U.S. does, Mainland China is not going to attack Taiwan militarily in the forseeable future, for at least two sufficient reasons: 1) militarily, the required seaborne invasion would probably be defeated even by an unaided Taiwan, and would certainly be too costly; 2) the political consequences of a military attack would wreck both the regional and global policies being pursued by Peking. Military action against Taiwan is just not in the cards.

Peking and/or Taipei

If Peking says that Taiwan's head on a platter is the price of full relations, the appropriate answer by Washington is simple: "Sorry, no deal." It is not only the moral commitment to Taiwan that dictates the answer but the fact that capitulation on Taiwan would be the worst possible way to enter a new stage of relations with Peking. As Chinese and as Communists, China's rulers despise weakness. We can take a leaf from the Chinese here. There is no need to hurry. After 29 years of non-recognition, one or two more won't matter.

Is the dilemma insoluble? Maybe in the abstract, but it can be shelved for at least a decade or two, which is as long ahead as governments can realistically figure. One way, and the best way, to get over the hump would be to have nothing at all said about the Taiwan issue in the protocol establishing formal relations. Or there is the "German solution": one people and nation, but two governments (a concept that does not exclude—or require—eventual reunion). Or the "Japanese solution": formal relations with Peking, active informal relations with Taipei.

If the diplomats set their minds to it they can devise a formula that will save everyone's face. That sort of thing is what we pay them for. □

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Why the Death Wish?

From the Continent

ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

How often have we conservatives asked ourselves, often with dismay, this question: Why are so many in the West, especially in the media and in the academy, so readily disposed to criticize anything Western? White European settlers ("colonists"), democratic governments, Christian theology and institutions, and free or even moderately free economies are all targets of a Western self-effacement which approaches masochism. Why?

The answer most often given is that we are the victims of a carefully manipulated Communist propaganda campaign, aimed with deadly precision at our self-doubts. This is true, so far as it goes; but it does not explain, at least not convincingly, why so many moderate, generally patriotic citizens are duped into mimicking this anti-Western rhetoric. The examples are plentiful enough: the chorus against American defense of Southeast Asia; the enthusiasm now for the terrorists in Zimbabwe and Namibia; the gleeful reception within the last decade or so of the news about Sekou Touré, the Mau-Mau, the Simbas, and the Black September assassins. These moderate Westerners respond with sturdy disbelief when told that Rhodesia's armed forces are predominantly black, that large corporations leave Third World countries usually to the alarm and not the rejoicing of native citizens, and that the Cambodian Khmer Rouge have outperformed Stalin and Mao in their revolutionary sadism.

Guaranteed Obscurity

Sometimes of course there is a moral quandary. What does one do, after all, with Idi Amin? Or with the PLO when it blows up buses with schoolchildren aboard? Some dilemmas provide their own solutions: the horrors of decolonization in the Congo, we were told, were actually caused by Belgian colonialism, which "held the people in ignorance." (Did Frantz Fanon earn a PhD?) But at other times they wonder. Is Rhodesia's Bishop Muzorewa just a quisling in the pay of Standard Oil? Or is UNITA in Angola a CIA front, perhaps propped up by Western money and mercenaries?

Aside from the effects of propaganda, liberal Westerners deride their heritage—at least on issues which do not affect them—for several reasons. First, it is fashionable. It is socially *de rigueur* to chat with friends at parties, to sip cocktails while bemoaning the latest alleged brutalities of Ian Smith's "white party." Supporting John Vorster at a party these days is like donning the lampshade at Madame Rothchild's. It guarantees social obscurity.

There is also simple envy. Whites in the Third World, it is thought, live better than whites in Western Europe or America. Their incomes are usually higher, living costs lower; they can afford to pay servants, and they have more leisure time. But this situation, whether real or perceived, is resented. So something must be done about it. And when this agreeable life is ended, especially if the end is sudden and brutal, what the Germans call *Schadenfreude* develops: delight in the misfortune of others. Thus a leftist German paper described the secret, gripping joy its editors felt upon hearing that Hans Martin Schleyer had been killed and dumped into a garbage pail by terrorists. Oh, how the mighty have fallen, they say. But in all this there is nowhere a recognition that the West is really a coherent whole, that even industrialists and South Africans belong to the fraternity.

One can add to envy a kind of Freudian death wish. The prospect of doom exerts a paralyzing fascination, under which many in the West seem to have fallen. This death wish, always a sign of failure, implies a profound dissatisfaction with existence. It leads to individual or collective suicide.

And, finally, there is the familiar moral inferiority complex, exemplified by the Austrian bishop who exhorts the faithful in a pastoral letter to come to the aid of the "underprivileged nations," mentioning the material plight of India caused by British imperialism. Whatever the West has achieved—in religion, art, philosophy, technology, politics—is ambiguous. Let the others try Zen, Hinduism, Sufism, Taoism; forget about St. Paul. It is indeed ironic that, if the West does collapse, none of these Asian religions will gain prominence; the most primitive of all Western philosophies, a crude Marxist-Leninist ideology directed by the Soviet Union, will prevail.

Europe Is the Faith

This vision of a West in decline is common to most of these Western "progressives." They lack the moral courage and intellectual rigor to fight what they consider the "wave of the future." Hence, news of one more nation's "revolution" merely confirms Marxism's inevitability. To reject this, say Western liberals, is to cling to a bourgeois prejudice, to a nostalgically beautiful but obsolete past. Communism is the logical conclusion of everything these progressives stand for: "social justice" and "social security," equality, an economic explanation of history. True, the liberal may admit, atrocities have been committed in the name of Communism; but atrocities also occurred during the French Revolution. Haven't crimes against humanity also been committed in the name of Christianity, he will ask? Of course he will look in vain for any foundation in the Gospel for such crimes, though he needs merely to look in the *Communist Manifesto* to find the roots of Soviet horror.

Hilaire Belloc said that "Europe is the Faith and the Faith is Europe." That Faith needs to be extended—to the entire West. The Church (and the Synagogue) gave us conviction, apostolic zeal, loyalty, pride, and security. Remove its message and what remains are the relativism of de Sade, and the death wish as defined by Sigmund Freud. □

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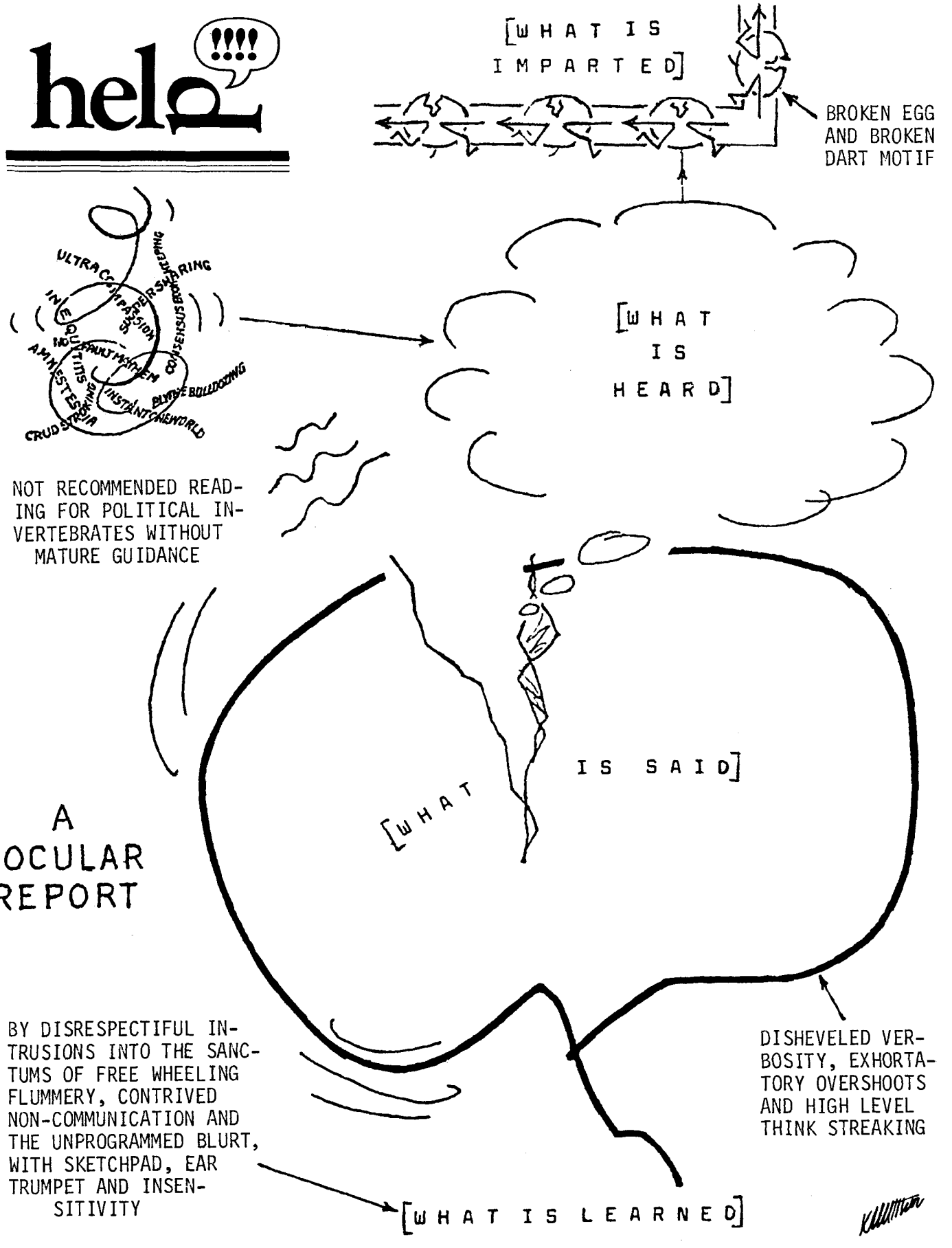
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A JOCULAR REPORT
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BY DISRESPECTIFUL INTRUSIONS INTO THE SANCTUMS OF FREE WHEELING FLUMMERY, CONTRIVED NON-COMMUNICATION AND THE UNPROGRAMMED BLURT, WITH SKETCHPAD, EAR TRUMPET AND INSENSITIVITY
DISHEVELED VERBOSITY, EXHORTATORY OVERSHOOTS AND HIGH LEVEL THINK STREAKING
[WHAT IS LEARNED]

From Authorized Pre-"Edited" version of *The Boggle*, by John Kreuttner.

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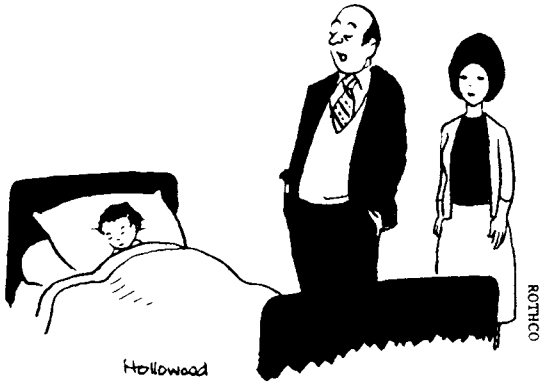
". . . And they lived viably ever after."



"Poor little devil! He'll only be twenty-four when North Sea oil runs out."

Friendly Advice

When you are one-and-twenty,
  Don't join the FBI;
With CIA recruiters,
  You'd better pass 'em by.
And when you're older, sonny,
  And I'm beyond the pale,
You'll thank that cranky codger
  Who kept you out of jail.

W. H. VON DREELE

MACNELLY THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER ©1978 BY CHICAGO TRIBUNE
I WOULDA GOTTEN HERE SOONER BUT MY HANDS GOT ALL TIED UP... ER, BY MY DUMB HORSE HERE...
LAST U.S. CAV. DIV.
CONGRESS
$
ZAIRE
RIGHT NOW, I'M INTO NOTHINGNESS

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NORMAN B. HANNAH

N+W=C Nixon Watergate Communist Indochina

OF RICHARD NIXON'S errors and culpability in the dismal Watergate affair there can be little doubt. They have been chewed, swallowed and re-chewed to the point of regurgitation, a factor which may temporarily curb the appetite for the former President's recently published *Memoirs*. Less understood are the errors and culpabilities of those who, in the early and middle 1960s, tried to split the difference between winning and staying out of Vietnam, in the process splitting the United States instead, and by spring of 1968 had achieved an American disaster at home to match the ultimate disaster in Indochina. Yet, the tragedies of Vietnam and Watergate are linked, as the Chinese say, "like the lips and the teeth."

It is not original to suggest a link between Vietnam and Watergate. Too often, however, the connection drawn turns out to be a shallow comparison of the two as twin monsters of federal misrule or, unhistorically, of Nixon's misrule. More seriously, Watergate is sometimes viewed as the Achilles heel of the 1973 Paris Agreements on Vietnam. But until the errors of our Vietnam War strategy are as fully analyzed and publicly explained as those of Watergate, our understanding of the connection will not become much more profound. Nor will we emerge from the national spiritual anomie which has paralyzed us for the past four years—lost in the maelstrom of world politics.

The period involved is lengthy—nearly 15 years from early 1961 to Hanoi's conquest of Saigon in 1975. It is also complex, including vast social, political, and international changes, all bristling and reverberating under the distracting fireworks and cacophony of media coverage, making it difficult to isolate and trace a single thread. It helps to stand back a bit and notice that the whole 15-year span falls into seven-year periods separated by a one-year parenthesis in 1968.

The first period runs from the advent of the New Frontier in 1961 to the militarily successful but politically disastrous defeat of Hanoi's Tet Offensive in February 1968. This was the period when U.S. policy and strategy in Indochina were devised and the American military presence steadily increased from a couple of thousand advisors to over half a million troops. After the Tet Offensive, when it was no longer possible domestically for the Administration to continue fighting the war on the old failed strategy, there ensued a parenthetical space of about a year, during which the bombing of North Vietnam was reduced and finally ended. President Johnson withdrew from the presidential primaries, and Averell Harriman attended talks with the North Vietnamese in Paris, finally agreeing on the shape of a table around which a four-party conference eventually took place.

THE SECOND PERIOD, beginning in January 1969, included a) the Nixon Administration's execution of a strategic but costly fighting withdrawal while trying (vainly, as it turned out) to leave South Vietnam strong enough to hold its own, and b) Watergate, the numbing effect of which on Washington encouraged Hanoi to accelerate its final attack in 1975.

The thread which links Vietnam and Watergate, running through these periods, starts in 1961 as a hair-thin conceptual crack between policy and tactics which, by 1968, had widened into an unbridgeable chasm of which the "credibility gap" was an aspect and which was epitomized by the devastating dichotomy between a resounding military victory at Tet in 1968 and a retching political disaster at home. So wide and deep was this gap that it merged with other social, racial, and generational cleavages, creating a rift so divisive that it challenged the cohesion of the nation. Although, during the second period, the Nixon Administration gradually reduced and eventually terminated the war, the yawning Vietnam gap was widened by a new crack whose source was the deep-seated, defensive suspicion which characterized the White House. Because of the daily sensation attending the Watergate aspects of this gap in the 1970s, that period is more familiar to Americans than are the early 1960s when the subtler conceptual crack appeared. A few illustrations, drawn from Mr. Nixon's *Memoirs* and from the Nixon-Frost interviews, will recall the gap of the 1970s.

The core of Mr. Nixon's own view of this period emerges starkly from his third interview with David Frost. Describing how he decided to take stronger measures against "the rising tide of violent dissent" which the North Vietnamese were encouraging and exploiting from Hanoi and Paris, Mr.

Mr. Hannah, a contributing editor of NR, *is a retired Foreign Service Officer who served in Southeast Asia.*

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Nixon remarked that those who had got us into the war, " . . . left government and then turned totally around and they stirred up the demonstrators . . ." Explaining his and Kissinger's bitterness, he said, "We felt this way because the people *on the other side* were hypocritical." (Italics supplied.)

On the other side? On the other side of what? Unfortunately, the element of personal bitterness (even paranoia, which Mr. Nixon partially acknowledged) distracts attention from the political significance of the phrase. There was, of course, irrationality enough on all sides to go around, as well as ambiguity, which was the matrix of the whole disaster. But *who* was the "other side"?

In the eyes of the anti-war militants, Mr. Nixon was the arch-symbol of a government so deceitful that its support for South Vietnam was reason enough to oppose Saigon and favor Hanoi. Inverting the old proverbs of friends and and enemies, the militants behaved as if they considered that "my government's friend must be my enemy and its enemy my friend." What else could it mean to pelt the new President's car with beer cans *on inauguration day* while shouting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh; the NLF is gonna win?" Or to argue, as a leading senator did, that to preside over America's first military defeat would be an act of statesmanship? What else could it mean when the Weathermen issued a "Declaration of War" proclaiming that "within the next 14 days, we will attack a symbol or institution of American injustice," an announcement followed 15 days later by the explosion of a dynamite time-bomb in New York Police Headquarters? What else could it mean that a former U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, whom McGovern described as "perfect for head of the FBI," visited Hanoi to investigate American war crimes and to call, over the *enemy's* radio, for immediate cessation of bombing?

In a mirror image of this perversion, Mr. Nixon saw the "other side" as a violent agglomeration of opponents whose actions (whatever the intent) effectively aligned them with the nation's enemy. What else could it mean to say, as he did in the Frost interview: "This nation was torn apart in an ideological way by the war in Vietnam as much as the Civil War tore apart the nation?" Feeling challenged simultaneously from within and without, the White House set forth on the course which led to the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist. *And beyond*—for the President "was determined," as he says in his *Memoirs*, "not to sit back while the Democratic architects of our involvement tried to make me pay for the war politically . . . I wanted ammunition against the anti-war critics, many of whom were the same men who, under Kennedy and Johnson, had led us into the Vietnam morass in the first place." From here it was but a short way to Watergate. In one of the most significant observations in his *Memoirs*, Mr. Nixon renders the following self-judgment:

> In hindsight I can see that, once I realized the Vietnam War could not be ended quickly or easily . . . I was sometimes drawn into the very frame of mind I so despised in the leaders of the [anti-war] movement. They increasingly came to justify almost anything in the name of forcing an immediate end to a war they considered unjustified and immoral. I was similarly driven to preserve the government's ability to conduct foreign policy and to conduct it in a way that I felt would best bring peace . . . History will make the final judgment on the actions, reactions, and excesses of both sides; it is a judgment I do not fear.

So much for the well-known gap of the 1970s. How could it have occurred? Let us pick up the other end of the thread lying in the post-Bay of Pigs trauma which constituted the atmosphere in which the Kennedy Administration faced the downward spiral in Laos and Vietnam. It is not generally realized how deeply the Bay of Pigs mentality affected the decisions on Indochina but, at the time, Secretary Rusk is reported to have remarked in the Indochina context that the unpleasant Cuban episode had affected Washington more than any other place in the world and that the main task was to shake off the Bay of Pigs so that we could get on with other things, such as Indochina.

Having "blinked" at the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy often said (to Mr. Nixon among others) that we could hardly fight in Laos, 10,000 miles away and not in Cuba, only ninety miles from Florida. The problem was exacerbated by the strong position taken by the "Never Again" Club of ex-Korea military in the Pentagon, which opposed any military involvement on the ground in Asia unless waged in an unrestricted manner, including the use of nuclear weapons and hitting the enemy's home base. Conveniently, the new doctrine of "counter-insurgency" was being developed. It was eventually to provide a neat way to play an active role in Indochina on a low-key, graduated scale which did not involve an overt commitment that would raise the hackles of the "Never Again" Club. This was the background of the decision to "split the difference" between going into Indochina and staying out.

Instead of changing strategies to one that would work or simply withdrawing, we made up the difference by pouring more and more into the widening crevice we straddled

Adroitly, the new Administration elected to finesse the direct threat by "neutralizing" Laos at a Geneva Conference, and to cope with the indirect threat by sending thousands of American military advisors to apply the fashionable new doctrine of counter-insurgency in South Vietnam. The then-Director of Intelligence and later Assistant Secretary for Far East in the Department of State, Roger Hilsman, sums it up succinctly in his book *To Move a Nation* by saying that Mr. Kennedy "preferred to treat the problem of Vietnam as something other than war." It would have been magnificent if it had worked. It didn't. Hanoi continued to use Laos for needed infiltration, and the Soviets did not make good on their commitment to Averell Harriman to accept responsibility for performance by the Communist side. It didn't work, so a gap occurred between our goal and the means used to pursue it. Instead of changing strategies to one that would work or simply withdrawing from any military involvement, we made up the difference by pouring more and more into the widening crevice we straddled. Ultimately, what started as a narrow tactical hiatus widened into the chasm that separated President Johnson and, later, President Nixon from the anti-war protesters.

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In truth, the policy of defending South Vietnam against Hanoi's attack was incompatible with the actual facts of the Geneva Accords on Laos in operation. Under cover of the Accords, Laos was de facto partitioned and the eastern part used as a pistol pointed at South Vietnam. Logically, we could have chosen either of two courses: first, we could have used whatever force was necessary in southern Laos to insulate South Vietnam against the steady aggression or, second, we could have decided Vietnam was not worth the candle and then pressed for extension of the Laos coalition subterfuge to Vietnam, where it would also fail but we would be out. In fact, we did neither.

Far from it. We poured more and more into both strategies and sought to mask their incompatibility even from ourselves. The hiatus showed up in many big and little ways. Averell Harriman was for many months adamant that we comply literally with every restriction in the Geneva Accords despite the massive North Vietnamese violations. (See William Colby's recently published *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA.*) Explaining this, Roger Hilsman points out that "Harriman wanted the political onus of any violation to fall on the Communists. If the Geneva Agreements and the political solution failed in Laos, he wanted it to be the Communist side that had to pay the political cost, including the cost in terms of damaging their goals elsewhere in Asia and Africa, and not the United States." Indeed! One wonders how the Communist side is bearing up today under this heavy cost to *their* goals in Asia and Africa.

On leaving the government in March 1964, Hilsman addressed a memorandum to Secretary Rusk, President Johnson, and McGeorge Bundy arguing that we should take no "significant action against North Vietnam" until after "we have demonstrated success in our counter-insurgency program." But the facts already suggested plainly that the internal counter-insurgency could not succeed until the steady aggression through Laos had been turned off. For the time being, he said, "my own preference would be . . .[for] covert, or at least deniable operations." But deniability became a euphemism for straddling two incompatible strategies; and, moreover, it led by graduated steps to the undeniable which, when denied, created the credibility gap.

Even in 1971 Harriman wrote: "Until the expansion of the war to Cambodia [the Nixon incursion in 1970] I had hoped that a settlement of Vietnam would have permitted the re-establishment on a workable basis of the 1962 Laos Agreements." One wonders why, after using the Laos infiltration routes so successfully against half a million American forces, Hanoi should have been thought willing to give up this invaluable asset just as the Americans were withdrawing.

General Giap and his cohorts in Hanoi can claim much of the credit for utilizing and widening this conceptual gap of our own making. The essential characteristic of the "war of liberation" as waged by Hanoi was its *ambiguity*. This confused the defenders, diffused their efforts and left them constantly in an unfavorable defensive stance, despite their advantage in people and resources. Logically, the first task of the defenders should have been to tear away the mask of ambiguity in order to fight the war as exactly what we said it was—a defense against aggression. Instead, the Administration decided to treat Vietnam "as something other than a war." How did this ambiguity work?

1. The external attack was allowed to appear as an internal insurgency.

2. The spurious and ineffective neutralization of Laos provided Hanoi with a route to South Vietnam under the jungle canopy of southern Laos. The spurious "troika" governmental façade in Laos, the ineffective International Control Commission, and the Anglo-Russian co-chairmanship formula all hampered effective exposure or prevention of North Vietnamese violations. Hence, when the North Vietnamese soldiers emerged silently from the forests of Laos and Cambodia into South Vietnam, they fought in the simulated role of internal insurgents.

3. The ambiguity of apparent insurgency led the U.S. to pour more and more forces into the pursuit of guerrillas through the villages, paddy fields, and forests of the South, a role totally improper for an external army. Moreover, as an army from a highly industrialized country, we used methods and weapons that sometimes exacerbated the problem by wreaking destruction on the wrong targets—the wrong people.

What should we have done? On assuming the Secretary-

The Administration, starting with a dangerously defensive initial stance, became secretive and suspicious, thinking of its opponents as potential national enemies

ship of State early in 1961, Dean Rusk spoke to the policy-making officers of that department saying, *inter alia*, that "power gravitates to those who are willing to make decisions and live with the results . . ." We needed to decide whether, a) the problem in Vietnam was essentially internal and the infiltration from the North only a secondary annoyance or whether, on the other hand, b) the essential problem was external aggression, however ambiguously masked, and the internal frailties of South Vietnam secondary although serious. If we had made the first judgment, we never should have provided any American military forces. If we had made the second judgment, and believed Vietnam was sufficiently important, we should have deployed our own military forces *solely and directly* against the external aggression so as to stop it, not so as to wipe out North Vietnam. Thus protected against the outside, the South could have gained the time and resources to stabilize itself. Thus insulated against the outside, our counter-insurgency strategy could have been decisively successful in the kind of situation for which it is appropriate. Unfortunately, no clear decision was made to choose between the real alternatives. Instead, we allowed our strategy to be shaped by the enemy's ambiguity. The Administration sought to split the difference and split only the country. The decision was blurred, and power gravitated away from us.

What has all this to do with Watergate? The original gap between ends and means in Vietnam resulted from a self-deception which occurred in the early 1960s. As the war ground on inconclusively, the gap widened and the government was obliged to justify it to the American people. The

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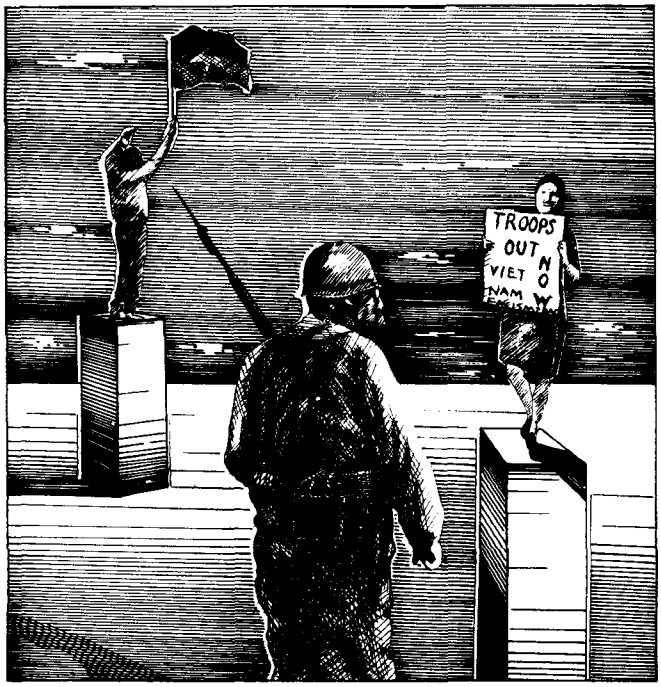
effort became an exercise in "news management" or "image making," a public relations operation to obscure the fact that we were not achieving our purpose. So the gap between ends and means became a gap between image and reality and was known as the "credibility gap." Most important of all, it led to increasing opposition among Americans, who are accustomed to winning.

Americans like to distinguish the "good guys" from the "bad guys," and they like to see the good ones win. Since South Vietnam was not winning, it must be the bad side; and, as North Vietnam seemed to be irresistible, it must be the good side. This curious reverse—or even perverse—logic caused some to regard the United States as being allied with the bad guys. This, in turn, resulted in internal revulsion, riots, sabotage, violence, and, eventually, in the theft of secret documents for publication by Daniel Ellsberg, who was widely portrayed as a hero. Why a hero? Beause he appeared to be exposing the truth about the bad guys who were using the American government to prop up a "black-hat" regime in Saigon. The gap had now widened to the point that some elements began to *turn against the United States itself.*

In this atmosphere, and feeling that they were doing their best to end with some semblance of good order a war they didn't start, the Nixon people reacted against the protesters, whom they identified with Hanoi because the protesters *seemed* to identify themselves with Hanoi at the expense of the United States. In this frame of mind, the Nixon people wrongly lumped the militant protesters and Ellsberg et al. with Hanoi as enemies who could be dealt with in the framework of war rather than the framework of domestic American law and politics. This was a mirror of the militant's image of the good guys in Hanoi and the bad guys in Saigon —and Washington. It was the sequel of the process by which the protesters changed from Americans seeking a change of policy by lawful means within the framework of a democratic system into opponents of the United States, outside the system, free to use violence and theft.



The rest follows sequentially. The Administration, starting with a dangerously defensive initial stance stemming in part from Mr. Nixon's own make-up, became increasingly secretive and suspicious, thinking of its opponents as potential national enemies. Hence—Watergate and the break-in of Dr. Fielding's office, the resort to regressive "deniability" leading to the destruction of credibility, to imminent impeachment and resignation. Starting as an overly clever self-deluding hiatus between ends and means, the Vietnam gap grew and spread, becoming a national chasm by the 1970s, contributing to and augmented by a second confusion of ends and means at the Watergate Hotel and Dr. Fielding's office. These are not the only factors involved in Watergate (there were other shabbier ones as well) but these are at its core. Watergate does not exist in a vacuum separate from the rest of history. It is part of history.

But this is not past or completed history. We are still snarled in the convoluted toils of what might be called the "inverted chauvinism" syndrome in which the U.S. Government is the "black-hat," and almost any other rival entity with a cause, a grievance, or an appetite is the "white-hat." Even the bloody regime engaged today in destroying Cambodian culture has had virtually no attention from those who clamored for a U.S. defeat in Vietnam. At home, the CIA is being deliberately emasculated by pejorative publicity while senior officers of the FBI are being prosecuted for defending us against the same Weathermen who, in their 1970 "Declaration of War," announced their adoption of the "classic guerrilla strategy of the Vietcong . . ."

In time, the natural self-healing processes of a fundamentally sound American social and political system may be able to restore our domestic cohesion. Internationally, it will be harder. World politics is a process as unforgiving as the laws of physics; and, when the Communists—particularly the USSR—are in the game, they play for keeps. We cannot simply go back, pick up the pieces dropped, and set the game up again the way it was in 1961, so as to have another go at it. There are patterns in history, although the widespread, not disinterested campaign to deny the "domino" concept while we were losing in Southeast Asia would suggest that the opponents deny sequential interrelationships between "A" and "B" in world politics. Nor do they seem at all abashed today by the sequence of Communist acquisition of power in North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

To summarize: One of the threads of history led from the unraveled Vietnam and Laos stitches, taken in 1961 and 1962, to Watergate in 1972. Richard Nixon held the other end and tangled himself unnecessarily in it. Many others had a part in weaving this thread during the 1960s. It should be carefully unwound, straightened, and examined in great detail, in a logical and sequential manner, not as a partisan political exercise. No excuse need be sought for Richard Nixon. He resigned, and, as President Ford said at the time, "our long national nightmare is over." But any good psychologist knows that nightmares have deep roots going back into history, into dark recesses, and that they can only be properly expunged or purged by uncovering those roots. The errors and misdeeds of Watergate have been purged by relentless exposure. Those of Vietnam have not. □

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UNDER THE CURTAIN

The Book Smugglers

LENNART FRANTZELL

On Monday, March 24, 1975, at 6 P.M., two French students, Jacques Arnold and Francis Bergeron, could be seen standing near the escalator of the Square of the Revolution Metro station in Moscow. Suddenly they began extracting books from two bags they were carrying, and handing them out to the surprised passers-by. At first the busy commuters paid little attention, but then someone spotted the cover of one of the books and electrified the crowd with one word, "Solzhenitsyn!" Bergeron recounts: "Some took books and then returned for more. There was a moment when I was surrounded by ten hands grasping for the literature. As soon as I took a book from the bag, someone would immediately grab it." The books were Russian, written in Russian by Russians, but still forbidden reading in their native country. "I didn't have too many books left when an agent in civilian clothes grabbed me. . . ."

The Frenchmen who so startled the Moscow subway riders were part of a growing number of Western students who try to help the struggle for human rights in the USSR actively by smuggling books and leaflets into the country. In doing this they break no laws. Arnold and Bergeron were protected by the iron-clad guarantees of the much-admired Stalin constitution (now known as the Brezhnev constitution), which guarantees freedom of the press; while those who have followed in their steps have been able to point to the ringing declarations of the Helsinki agreement.

The smugglers have received the help of the Russian émigré organization NTS in obtaining books and leaflets, and sometimes also in making contacts in the USSR.

Many have followed in the steps of Arnold and Bergeron. The afternoon of April 15, 1976 found Willy Kypers, a member of the Belgian parliament armed with two thousand leaflets in the central square of Erevan, Soviet Armenia. For 45 minutes he distributed his leaflets demanding freedom for Armenia and for Armenians in KGB jails to a rapidly growing crowd. He was arrested hours later, after having given away all his literature.

Thirty-one-year-old Antoon Pype was seized in Leningrad where he had been distributing leaflets on December 23, 1976.

The most ambitious attempt to smuggle books into the USSR so far was undertaken by Emil Happaerts and Linda Montbeliu. As I. T. Yakovlev, head of the Soviet customs unit in Vyborg, on the Finnish border, put it in his report: "On May 2, 1976, citizen Happaerts, Emil, attempted to move 1,601 copies of anti-Soviet and religious literature across the border hidden from the customs control in specially equipped hiding places in a microbus, while entering the USSR as a tourist."

The July 14, 1976, issue of *Izvestia* carried the following notice: "The Committee for State Security has detained Eidsvig, Bernt Ivar, a Norwegian subject, who had traveled to the USSR as a tourist, for distributing material hostile to the Soviet state. The investigation continues." Eidsvig, a theology student from Oslo, had gone to the USSR with a packet of leaflets proclaiming the need to democratize the Soviet regime. As he was trying to deliver the package to his contact in Moscow, Vladimir Deryugin, he was arrested.

The arrest of Eidsvig set off protests in Norway and elsewhere. To show her solidarity with the arrested Norwegian, 24-year-old Johanna Drees flew from Belgium to Moscow on August 22, armed with leaflets calling for Eidsvig's release. Miss Drees had the temerity to distribute her lists on Dzerzhinski Square, outside the Lubyanka prison. Because of her proximity to this monument of Soviet culture, she was able only to throw her leaflets into the air before she was rushed by the KGB.

A week later, on August 31, 1976, Jean-Christian Tirat arrived in Moscow. The next day he distributed leaflets outside the Pushkin Metro station. He was quickly seized and bundled off to Lefortovo prison.

The smuggling of books and leaflets goes on. The size of the movement can be seen from the fact that when Comrade Yakovlev filed his report on the Happaerts-Montbeliu smuggling, it was the 93rd contraband report he had filed in four and a half months. That the Soviet rulers take a very serious view of the smuggling is shown by the fact that press, radio, and television have all been used to combat it. Eidsvig and Tirat were displayed on Moscow television, and *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and *Komsomolskaya Pravda* carried the "confession" of Tirat as well. There is no reason to believe that the Soviets have been overreacting. Leaflets have been found far from Moscow and Leningrad, and contraband books have long circulated in large numbers among dissident intellectuals in major Soviet cities. It has even been shown that at least some of the books seized from the students find their way to their intended audience. At the end of January 1975, Sokolov, a member of the section handling the confiscation of contraband books, was arrested for selling books his section had confiscated to black market bookdealers in Moscow. He has not been heard of since.

The students, however, have been heard from. Eidsvig served three and a half months in a Soviet jail, Tirat seven weeks. Pype was sentenced to five years in a concentration camp, but was released on July 1 last year. The rest were immediately deported.

The Soviets have not come away from the confrontations unscathed. They had clearly not expected the arrested smugglers to behave as they did: with defiance, knowledge of their legal rights, and a disconcerting readiness to argue about the Helsinki declaration and the legality of their actions. The following exchange between 22-year-old Linda Montbeliu and two KGB agents, reported in the émigré journal *Possev*, is illustrative:

(Continues on page 795)

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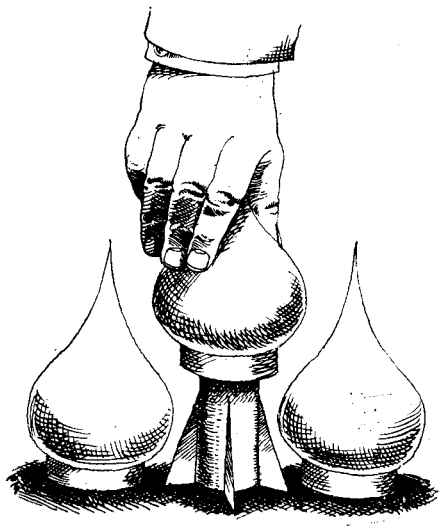
Two members of the B Team ask: What evidence is required to suggest to the American people and the Administration that our security is in the process of being endangered?

National Intelligence and the USSR

WILLIAM R. VAN CLEAVE & SEYMOUR WEISS

TOWARD THE END OF 1976, press reports revealed the existence of a presidentially approved group of outsiders selected to review U.S. intelligence on Soviet strategic programs and objectives. Working independently of the official intelligence community—the "A Team"—but with access to the same information, the group of experts—the "B Team"—was charged with the evaluation of Soviet strategic programs and of the motivations, concepts, and objectives behind those programs. The B Team analysis was in part motivated by a growing concern over the inexplicable underestimation in past National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs) of Soviet strategic programs. The independent analysis, however, was not only to determine whether raw intelligence data would support conclusions on Soviet strategic capabilities and objectives different from past official estimates, it was also an experimental effort to improve the quality of the U.S. strategic intelligence analysis and estimating process. Shortly after word of the B Team appeared in the press, highly speculative and dramatic charges were also made there concerning the presumed conclusions of the B Team study—which remains highly classified—its influence on the official NIE, and even the personal motivations of the individuals who composed the team. It was suggested, for example, that the study was designed to embarrass the incoming Carter Administration, despite the fact that the study was commissioned by an Administration that at the time hoped and expected to remain in office—an Administration that would bear the brunt of any implicit criticism of recent intelligence evaluations and processes.

There were also suggestions that the B Team somehow managed to "bully" the entire official intelligence community into concluding, for the first time in an NIE, that the Soviet strategic goal is superiority based upon nuclear-war-fighting and -winning capabilities. Yet, before the B Team effort even got under way, the CIA, which is mainly responsible for the NIE, reported to Congress: "The Soviets are committed to the acquisition of 'war-fighting capabilities,' a decision which reflects a concensus on the need to assure the survival of the Soviet Union as a national entity in case deterrence fails. It also accords with a long-standing tenet of Soviet military doctrine that a nuclear war could be fought and won, and that counterforce capabilities should be emphasized in strategic forces. Mutual assured destruction as a desirable and lasting basis for a stable strategic nuclear relationship between superpowers has never been accepted in the USSR."*



Vindication

Despite all the confused charges concerning both the substance of the Team B conclusions and the motivations behind the study, the team has collectively resisted publicly offering its views on these matters in the hope that the passing of time would permit a tempering of attitudes, which in turn would lead to a more productive national discussion of the real problem: the Soviet threat.

However, the issue of the B Team experiment was again raised in public with the release in February of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence report: "The National Intelligence Estimates—A–B Team Episode Concerning Soviet Strategic Capability and Objectives." We have no objections to the report. In fact, with its attached separate statements, particularly those by Senators Wallop (R., Wyo.) and Moy-

Mr. Van Cleave, Professor of International Relations and Director of Defense and Strategic Studies at the University of Southern California, has held positions in the Defense Department and on the U.S. SALT Delegation. Mr. Weiss, Vice President of the Abington Corporation, has been a senior State Department official, Director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, and U.S. Ambassador to the Bahamas. Both were members of the B Team.

*Hearings before the Subcommittee on Priorities and Economy in Government, Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Part 2, May 24-June 15, 1976, p. 68.

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nihan (D., N.Y.), we believe it is a vindication of the experiment, notwithstanding an apparent attempt in the majority report to disparage somewhat the B Team's conclusions through a charge of bias. (Interestingly, the accuracy of the conclusions and the soundness of the B Team report were not challenged.)

While the majority report concedes that the B Team "made some valid criticisms of the NIEs" and "some useful recommendations concerning the estimative process," it also charges that the membership of the B Team was "so structured that the outcome of the exercise was predetermined."

We have no need to defend the credentials and objectivity of our colleagues on the B Team, nor the care with which the Team conducted its study. The members made every effort to examine all the evidence objectively and to synthesize it into responsible and supportable conclusions. It was not a "worst case" report. If the thrust of the conclusions, as they have been discussed openly, seemed harsh at the time, it ought to be recognized that, for several years, each successive official estimate of Soviet strategic programs and objectives had been harsher than preceding estimates. The reason is simple: the cumulative evidence had become increasingly clear and increasingly disturbing. As Senator Moynihan put it in his separate statement, the B Team's message "that the Soviets intend to surpass the United States in strategic arms and are in the process of doing so, has gone from heresy to respectability, if not orthodoxy."

The Soviet Buildup

The B Team *was* selected from recognized experts known to have "more somber views" of the Soviet threat than those taken in past NIEs. Inasmuch as past NIEs failed to recognize the determination of the Soviet rulers and the ambitious goals of the Soviet strategic buildup (as a study by Professor Albert Wohlstetter of the University of Chicago showed, out of 51 median projections of Soviet strategic capabilities, 49 turned out to be substantial *under*-estimates), to hold more somber views would not necessarily mean bias or extremism. The evidence requires somber-

ness. Senator Wallop, in his separate statement, summarized the problem:

> While the Soviets were beginning the biggest military buildup in history, the NIEs judged that they would not try to build as many missiles as we had. When the Soviets approached our number, the NIEs said they were unlikely to exceed it substantially; when they exceeded it substantially, the NIEs said they would not try for decisive superiority—the capability to fight and win a nuclear war. Only very recently have the NIEs admitted that possibility as an "elusive question." Now the NIEs say the Soviets may be trying for such a capability but they cannot be sure it will work.

It was on this basis that experts were chosen for the B Team who had expressed, to one degree or another, concern that Soviet strategic capabilities were outrunning official intelligence acknowledgement of them.

> Inasmuch as the main purpose of the experiment was to determine why previous estimates had produced such misleading pictures of Soviet strategy developments, it was reasonable to pick Team members whose views of Soviet strategy differed from those of the official estimators. . . . Calling on outside experts from time to time is a healthy corrective against the tendency of any organization to become set in its own way of thinking. The particular panel of experts chosen, however, will always be subject to charges of being "unrepresentative" or "biased" by those who do not like its findings.

If the B Team reached conclusions more sharply focused or more unambiguously expressed than the norm, it was because it had at least two major advantages over the official process.

First, it was free from bureaucratic and institutional factors that tend to reduce conclusions to the low common denominator dictated by an "agreed intelligence" report, which in the final analysis cannot remain totally insensitive to the framework of Administration policy. (This is not to say that Team B found it unnecessary to discuss and reconcile differences among its members. The Team was not as homogeneous as often pictured.)

Second, it was free to address and bring into its product the type of historical, social, and political analysis seldom found, at least explicitly, in national intelligence estimates of strategic forces.

The issue is really the correct appreciation of Soviet strategic objectives, not the "bias" of the B Team. Were its more somber conclusions justified or not? "The objective standard," Senator Moynihan insists, "will be to look at how well one institutional arrangement, or one line of argument, has predicted and explained recent events. In the current case, it would appear that the NIEs of the past dozen years have by and large failed this test." How about Team B?

To answer that question, we suggest a review of the information released about strategic efforts during the year since the conclusion of the B Team experiment. In addition, the policies of

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the U.S in the face of those developments should be noted. It isn't enough that Soviet efforts validate the more somber prognostication of the B Team if it seems that the Administration ignores it.

It has been confirmed during this period that Soviet defense expenditures on strategic programs had been grossly understated in the West for years. During a period when apologists for Soviet behavior were expressing alarm over a putative strategic arms race fueled by the U.S., the Soviet Union was devoting a *far greater* percentage of its national resources to an unprecedented buildup. According to a CIA report, the Soviet Union outspent the U.S. on strategic nuclear forces by two and one-half times over the ten-year period of 1967-1977; and this doesn't include spending on civil defense, which some experts put at $2 billion to possibly $4 billion per year. The implications of this massive effort are worthy of reflection, especially in light of the fact that, arms control efforts notwithstanding, *there is still no evidence or expectation of any tapering off of this effort.* In September, the Defense Intelligence Agency reported to Congress that Soviet defense outlays for the next five years will continue to *rise* at about the same rate as over the preceding five years. Thus the explanations (or rationalizations) by some that present programs and expenditures are the results of decisions taken five or even ten years ago when the USSR was purportedly just trying to catch up to the U.S. are shown to be hollow. These facts are more impressive given recent CIA projections of serious economic difficulties in the USSR.

The Soviet Union has continued vigorously to develop and deploy new strategic forces that cannot be explained by any legitimate notion of deterrence or self-defense. Despite the enormous strategic capabilities that the Soviet Union has already achieved, Secretary of Defense Brown has said that "all of us must recognize that the Soviets have under way a number of large, impressive, and costly strategic programs to strengthen their offensive capabilities, their active defenses, and their passive defense system." Thus, they are already deploying a fourth generation of ICBMs whose numbers and counterforce potential greatly exceed our own—"first-class in terms of their accuracy and payload," as Secretary Brown put it. Yet, it was recently revealed that the Soviets have *another* generation of four new ICBMs under development. (This would be analogous to the U.S., having deployed Minuteman plus yet another generation of larger and more modern ICBMs, embarking on still another new series of ICBM programs.) In terms only of those ICBMs being deployed, by the early 1980s—even with proposed SALT II "limitations"—the Soviet Union may have some seven times the throw-weight (or payload potential) and up to four times the warheads of the U.S. in MIRVed ICBM forces—more than enough to place the Minuteman force in jeopardy with a fraction of the Soviet force. But this is by no means the extent of recent Soviet strategic activities. To these ICBMs can be added a new *mobile* MIRVed ballistic missile with the long range capability to target our allies and our forces overseas, and which, with relative ease, can be modified to target the U.S.

The Unmistakable Trend

Furthermore, having in recent years moved from the modern Yankee-class nuclear ballistic missile submarine to the larger Delta and stretched Delta, to accommodate submarine-launched missiles (SLBMs) of ranges comparable to the U.S. Trident I and II (which will not be deployed for several years), it has been revealed in the past year that still a new class of submarine, named Typhoon, is under production. Numerically, these submarines and the total of deployed SLBMs have now reached the outer limits of the SALT I agreements of 62 boats and 950 modern SLBMs. And yet others are reported to be under construction. These numbers compare with 41 subs and 656 SLBMs for the U.S., numbers which may *decrease* significantly by the mid- to late 1980s if the service life of the Polaris/Poseidon force and the Trident rate of production are not increased.

In bombers, the USSR has in the past year continued or increased its production and deployment of a new, sophisticated strategic bomber—the Backfire—whose intercontinental capability was at one time a matter of debate, a debate that the B Team had to confront, but which has now been resolved by the Director of the CIA himself, as well as the Secretary of Defense. In this year's report to Congress by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it was said that Backfire "has characteristics and capabilities similar or superior to those aircraft which both sides agree are heavy bombers." And now the Secretary of Defense has revealed that another, larger heavy strategic bomber is being developed and that we expect to see the first prototype "in the near future."

In other areas, briefly: The Soviet anti-satellite capability, unmatched by the U.S., has been officially acknowledged only during the past year. Given the reliance placed by U.S. intelligence and communications on satellite systems, the potential threat posed by those Soviet capabilities is a cause of great concern. The more that is learned about Soviet civil defense, the more impressive the picture of the effort and its potential strategic significance becomes. Secretary of Defense Brown, who initially expressed great skepticism concerning this effort, details an enormous program in this year's Department of Defense Report and admits that Soviet civil defense "is more extensive than was estimated a year ago." Despite the ABM Treaty, the Soviets continue what Secretary Brown terms "a very active ABM research and development program," aimed toward a rapidly deployable ABM system. Such developments relating to strategic forces must be viewed against the background of the undisputed and massive theater and general-purpose force buildup and modernization that has proceeded unabated.

Some American commentators have attempted to explain away this massive Soviet military effort as merely an effort to "catch up" and even as a reaction to earlier American actions (despite the conscious policy of self-restraint on the part of the U.S., which contributed to opportunities seized by the USSR). Aside from the fact that more sophisticated analysts have understood for years that Soviet military actions could not be explained by a simplistic action-reaction hypothesis, the unabated Soviet effort described above strongly suggests that such an explanation of Soviet purposes can hardly stand the test of ob-

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jective scrutiny. However one evaluates the current net military balance between the USSR and the U.S., surely the trend is unmistakable.

U.S. decisions during the past year —involving cancellation of the B-1 (despite the fact that earlier assurances about "essential equivalence" in the mid- to late 1980s presumed the full programmed B-1 force), cancellation of production of SRAM, termination of Minuteman III production, reduction of funding for the mobile ICBM (M-X), and the measured approach to production of Trident—neither explain Soviet actions nor promise any reversal of alarming trends. Secretary of Defense Brown seemed to acknowledge this in this year's Defense Report: "To those who are convinced that the Soviets are aiming at meaningful strategic superiority, the programs and options I have provided here may seem inadequate."

Instead of moving ahead with strategic programs that might change trends, the Administration evinces great faith that continued restraint and strategic arms limitation agreements will eventually resolve the increasingly one-sided momentum, despite the resounding lack of success of such efforts to date. As the Defense Report puts it: "Appropriate restraint in our programs and actions is still warranted. But there is no evidence from past history that unilateral reductions in our posture will produce Soviet reciprocity." Ironically, some are now arguing for SALT agreements essentially *because we are already too far behind in the race to catch up*!

Testing SALT

There is, in fact, a tendency now to use intelligence "projections" in the service of proposed SALT agreements. Inferior agreements can be infinitely rationalized on the basis that things would be even worse without them. Are the proposed agreements inequitable to the U.S.? Well, that is all right since (given continued U.S. passivity) the disparity will be worse in their absence. Secretary Brown states:

> We are uncertain as to the future course the Soviets might take with respect to their strategic offensive forces in default of a SALT II agreement. However, there is no doubt about their ability to deploy more missiles and bombers than we believe they are programming at the present time. Indeed, it is estimated that, without a SALT II agreement, the Soviets could have over 3,000 strategic delivery vehicles by 1985.

Such arguments should not blur the reality of the impact and implications of any new SALT agreements; and, since SALT is so closely related with the subject of this article, we should remind ourselves of the objectives of SALT agreements. In evaluating a SALT II agreement, we must ask whether:

- ►It *effectively* limits the ongoing Soviet strategic programs;
- ►It *effectively* limits in particular the massive Soviet ICBM force in ways to reduce significantly its first-strike potential and to bring it closer to "essential equivalence" standards;
- ►It places damaging restrictions on the second-strike U.S. air-launched cruise missile, such as limiting its range to a point where its viability as an effective deterrent is endangered (despite its increased importance in the wake of the abandonment of B-1), or restricting its carrier, or requiring it to count against U.S. MIRV limits;
- ►It limits the numbers of Backfire bombers as a part of any aggregate total limit on strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, given its intercontinental range;
- ►It places restrictions, which, though purportedly temporary, will in fact be difficult to reverse, on cruise missiles available for our allies' defense, despite our long-standing resistance to Soviet efforts to restrict unilaterally the so-called forward-based systems of the West;
- ►It *effectively* closes the loopholes that could allow the Soviets an asymmetrical SALT "breakout" advantage; e.g., through conversion of SS-20s to mobile ICBMs, exploitation of the cold-launch reload capability of Soviet missiles for a virtually unlimited number of ICBMs, or development of a rapidly deployable ABM system.

In a speech to the UN last fall, the President suggested that a major SALT "breakthrough" was at hand. Yet, from what has been revealed so far, it is possible to judge that this impending agreement would in *no* way reverse or even halt what is otherwise a singularly ominous trend. Its effect on Soviet programs is largely cosmetic; and it would severely limit those U.S. programs that might ease the situation.

Both with regard to the effects of SALT agreements and with regard to the implications and possible consequences of the Soviet military buildup, it is possible for reasonable people to differ on the interpretations to be applied. We see no reason at this time for optimism. Clearly, there is little reason to question the evidence of the increase in Soviet strategic capabilities, relative to those of the U.S., or the thrust of these programs toward counterforce, damage limiting, and superiority.

Right Yet Wrong

Events have proved the B Team right, but U.S. policy appears to assume Team B wrong. We wonder what evidence is required to suggest to the American people and to the Administration that our security is in the process of being endangered and that its preservation requires an awareness and an effort far beyond that which now exists.

If the B Team effort has served to disturb people and to draw attention to these developments, it was certainly worthwhile. In effect, it was a technique analogous to that which Winston Churchill found necessary to force political recognition of the reality and the threatening implications of the massive armament of Nazi Germany in the 1930s, at a time when the Baldwin Government resorted to optimistic projections of the balance of military power. At that time, the British Government first refused to recognize the reality of massive German armament; then it refused to acknowledge it publicly in the belief that the public could not be brought to the effort necessary to deal with it and that an appeal on these grounds would bring about domestic political defeat; and, finally, it took the position that it was too late to do anything. We fervently hope that neither the insensitivity of the first, nor the political cynicism of the second, nor the fatalism of the last ever comes to characterize an American Administration. □

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CHICAGO, 1978

Tax Rebellion

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

CHICAGO, MAY 19-21. You can't always see a historic event when it's right under your nose. Most of the time you have to back off a few months or years before you can say, Ah, yes, that's when it all began. But if you had been at the Lincolnshire Marriott in Chicago on the weekend of May 20, you would have known it at the time: this is when it started, the great American tax rebellion.

The event: the First National Tax-Limitation Conference and Workshop.

The sponsors: the National Tax-Limitation Committee (NTLC) and the American Legislative Exchange Council.

Attendance: about two hundred, mainly incumbent legislators and tax-limitation leaders from around the country, representing 38 states. Important representatives from business and the academy. Leaders of the Chamber of Commerce, the American Farm Bureau Federation (which hosted a poolside reception), the National Federation of Independent Business. Press coverage was thorough and sympathetic.

Principal speakers and panelists: Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman (who spent the full two days); Congressman Phil Crane (Illinois); Congressman Dan Marriott (Utah); Don Baldwin of the National Taxpayers Union; Robert Carleson, former U.S. Commissioner of Welfare; Tennessee State Representative Dave Copeland, who led the campaign that resulted in Tennessee's becoming the first state in the Union, last March 7, to adopt a constitutional restraint on the growth of state spending; David Denholm of the Public Service Research Council; M. Stanton Evans, author; Donald Feder of the tax-limitation drive in Massachusetts; Richard Headlee, insurance executive and leader of the T-L campaign in Michigan; Wesley Hillendahl, VP and head of business research at the Bank of Hawaii; John McCarty, VP and public affairs consultant of Adolph Coors Co.; Glen Merritt, Director of Government and Special Services (California); Eugene Meyer, research director and campaign consultant for the National Tax-Limitation Committee; Donald Moreau, Indiana Department of Commerce; William Niskanen, chief economist for Ford Motor Co.; Jack Orr, rancher and head of the T-L campaign in Colorado; Glenn Pascall, VP of Washington State Research Council; State Senator James Paulk of Georgia, author of the T-L amendment he introduced last January; William Rhatican, the Washington PR expert; William Shaker, founder of the T-L organization in Michigan and manager of government relations analysis for Dow Chemical; William Stowe, Illinois Chamber of Commerce; W. Craig Stubblebine, Professor of Economics and Director of the Center for the Study of Law Structures at Claremont; Robert Teeter, head of Market Opinion Research; State Representative Donald Totten, author and spearhead of the Illinois T-L amendment; Lewis Uhler, President of the National Tax-Limitation Committee; Kirk West, veteran of state government and VP of California Taxpayers Association; State Representative Hal Wick, airline pilot and author of the South Dakota T-L amendment.

THE SESSIONS and workshops covered such topics as the analysis of fiscal, economic, and political factors prior to starting a T-L campaign; tax indexing; organizing the people and structure of a campaign; theory and operation of property taxes; considerations in designing a T-L amendment and the enabling legislation; tax incentives for business; qualifying a constitutional tax/spending-limitation amendment; operating the actual campaign; amending the United States Constitution; zero-base budgets and sunset laws.

Robert Teeter pointed out that for the last three years the one thing that causes citizens the most anxiety is high taxes. They see taxes as related to inflation. These findings were corroborated in the Washington State Research Council's fine study, "Special Report on State Tax and Expenditure Limitation": 83 per cent of respondents to a 1977 nationwide poll expressed the opinion that taxes and government services should remain at present levels or be reduced." Eighty-three per cent makes a mass movement. George Washington, in 1776, could barely count on 50 per cent.

Because of the extremely broad appeal of constitutional limits on taxing and spending, the conference placed special emphasis on maintaining the nonpartisan character of the movement. The victory in Tennessee was entirely nonpartisan. The Maine T-L campaign, launched May 13, is passionately supported by the eloquent Governor James Longley, a former Democrat, now an Independent. The T-L amendment in Illinois was approved, in the House, by a coalition of 58 Democrats and 57 Republicans. And so it goes, across the country.

The biggest news was the launching of a campaign for amending the U.S. Constitution. Milton Friedman, disagreeing with the balanced-budget amendment as proposed by the National Tax Union, emphasized that the real measure of the burden of government is the level of spending, and urged that the federal amendment be short and sweet: a simple limitation on the ratio of federal expenditures to total personal income (or any similar aggregate)—"our first and basic objective." Phil Crane was particularly optimistic: after ten or fifteen states have adopted T-L amendments, he thinks the Congress will see the light, and propose an amendment to the Constitution.

The most practical and hopeful conference they had ever attended, said dozens of people. There was only one complaint: the sessions were too short! It will be an annual affair, and President Uhler of the NTLC announced a series of regional meetings to help local leaders get to know each other, compare notes, and lend a hand.

Chicago, 1978. Your grandchildren may be reading about it in their history books, alongside Boston, 1773. Definitely *our* cup of tea. □

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Can Oregon Be Happy?

RUSSELL KIRK

THE OREGON HISTORICAL Society, in recent months, has been surveying the sunken state of historical teaching in that state's public schools. Since Oregon possesses one of the livelier histories of the several states of this Union, one might expect that the state's children would be offered a good many courses in history, and required to take some. It is not so.

I do not suggest that Oregon ignores history more than do most states: things are bad all over. At least Oregonian historical scholars, teachers of history, and historically aware people are making a determined effort to restore some decent attention to historical knowledge in the public-school apparatus. This spring Oregon's State Board of education reconsiders the general curriculum for secondary schools. The Oregon Historical Society and others are forcefully recommending to the Board that two years of historical study be required for graduation from high school: one year of American history, one of Western civilization.

The Historical Society recently sent out questionnaires to the chairman of about 90 per cent of the high-school social science departments throughout the state. About 60 per cent of those questioned took the trouble to reply. (The inquiry having concerned what courses in history were taught, it seems reasonable to suspect that a good many chairmen did not reply because they offered little or no history in their schools.) Of the 101 replies, about 60 per cent, again, reported that their schools still taught the long-established one-year survey of American history. This response was rather pleasing to the Historical Society, modest though this survival seems: for, some years ago, the person who was then Oregon's superintendent had abolished the old statewide requirement for this course, on the new theory that what the kids really needed was "career education" and "survival skills."

World history, or Western civilization's history, had fared worse. A decade ago, such a course was required in approximately a third of the secondary schools which responded to a questionnaire. Today, so far as can be ascertained, *not one* Oregon high school requires study of world history for graduation. Something better than half of Oregon's high schools do offer some studies in non-American history, but often these are mini-courses or "relevant" exercises in recent events.

Mr. William Bilderback, working with the Oregon Historical Society, summarizes the present situation: "In Oregon, it is possible for someone to go through senior high school and graduate from college without darkening the door of a single genuine history class. . . . Students are now thronging into self-awareness, man and his environment, human relations courses, or concentrating on career education. A number of highly competent secondary teachers offer traditional history electives (Europe since 1789, Russian and English history), but they cannot compete with the more 'relevant' and less demanding offerings that satisfy the state's social-science requirement, and such traditional classes are sometimes closed down because they cannot obtain the necessary number of students. History enrollment in the community and four-year colleges and universities has fallen drastically over the past ten years. (Very few departments require their majors to take any history classes.) In short, it is not too farfetched to conclude that Clio may go the way of Latin, unless something is done to arrest the present trend."

PART OF THE DIFFICULTY is this: the educationists have lumped history together with the "social sciences," and many of them argue that if courses in history are to be required, why not require courses in economics, sociology, psychology, and the like? The only statewide educational requirement to be adopted in Oregon during recent years has been "career education"—which is pretty much a boondoggle throughout these United States. Why should history be privileged?

The trouble with this argument is that although history is in some sense a social science, also it is more than a social science. History is one of those few subjects about which practically everybody in a society—especially a democratic society—needs to know something. It is possible for most people to get through life with little systematic knowledge of anthropology, or sociology, or psychology, or macro-economics. It is not necessary that everybody be trained in biology or chemistry or physics, valuable as these studies are. But for the functioning of our society, as of any civilized society, the mass of people must have some reasonable ability to read and write, some rudiments of humane literature, some simple mathematics—and some historical consciousness. (Also, and fundamentally, they require some religious instruction; but here I am writing of state-supported schools, and you know what the Supreme Court has done about that.)

"Happy are the people whose annals are tiresome," says Montesquieu. He means that such a people must have known peace for a great while: the Swiss since the French Revolutionary era are our best example of folk so blessed. But the annals of the United States, and of our civilization, are far from tiresome—even though they can be taught, *mirabile dictu*, tiresomely. This nation now confronts difficulties greater than we have ever known before, and must make public decisions which are irrevocable. Lacking a knowledge of how we got where we stand today, lacking that deeper love of country which is nurtured by a knowledge of the past, lacking the apprehension that we all participate in a grand historical continuity and essence—why, a people so deprived will not dare much, sacrifice much, or take long views. With them, creature-comforts will be everything; yet, historical consciousness wanting, in the long run they must lose their creature-comforts too. That is only one of several important reasons why history is more than a utilitarian "social science."

This is true in Oregon and in every other state. Let us devoutly hope that Oregonians may cast a large pebble into the stagnant pool of historical apathy in America, by reviving historical study as an essential and required part of any secondary curriculum. If they do so, they may be emulated beyond their borders; and this Republic, forged by historically minded men, may come to know a Tercentenary. □

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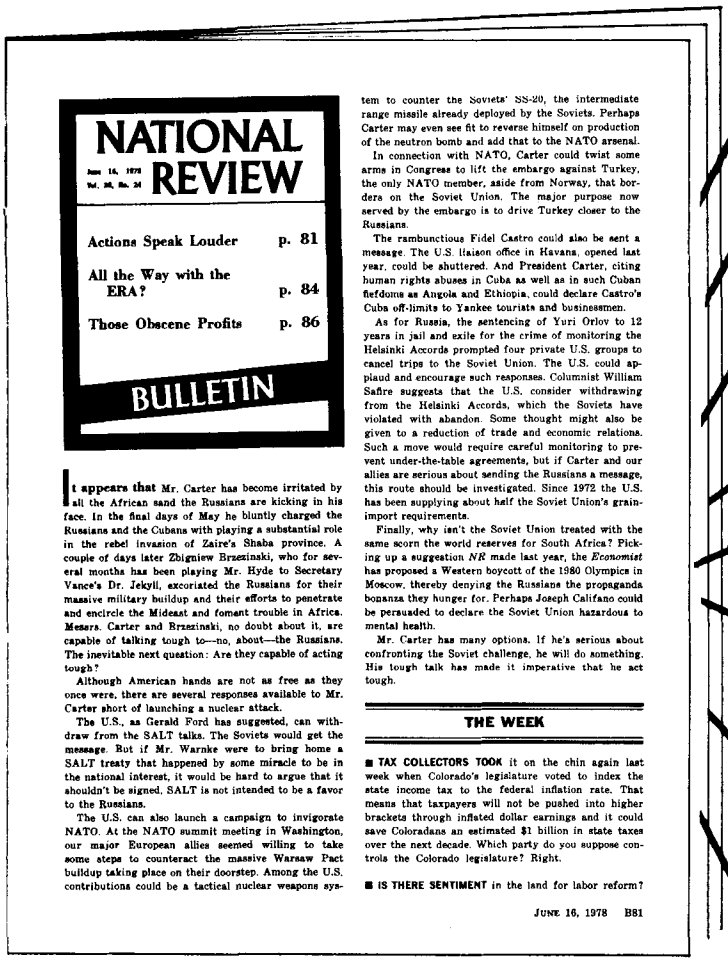

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BULLETIN

It appears that Mr. Carter has become irritated by all the African sand the Russians are kicking in his face. In the final days of May he bluntly charged the Russians and the Cubans with playing a substantial role in the rebel invasion of Zaire's Shaba province. A couple of days later Zbigniew Brzezinski, who for several months has been playing Mr. Hyde to Secretary Vance's Dr. Jekyll, excoriated the Russians for their massive military buildup and their efforts to penetrate and encircle the Mideast and foment trouble in Africa. Messrs. Carter and Brzezinski, no doubt about it, are capable of talking tough to—no, about—the Russians. The inevitable next question: Are they capable of acting tough?

Although American hands are not as free as they once were, there are several responses available to Mr. Carter short of launching a nuclear attack.

The U.S., as Gerald Ford has suggested, can withdraw from the SALT talks. The Soviets would get the message. But if Mr. Warnke were to bring home a SALT treaty that happened by some miracle to be in the national interest, it would be hard to argue that it shouldn't be signed. SALT is not intended to be a favor to the Russians.

The U.S. can also launch a campaign to invigorate NATO. At the NATO summit meeting in Washington, our major European allies seemed willing to take some steps to counteract the massive Warsaw Pact buildup taking place on their doorstep. Among the U.S. contributions could be a tactical nuclear weapons system to counter the Soviets' SS-20, the intermediate range missile already deployed by the Soviets. Perhaps Carter may even see fit to reverse himself on production of the neutron bomb and add that to the NATO arsenal.

In connection with NATO, Carter could twist some arms in Congress to lift the embargo against Turkey, the only NATO member, aside from Norway, that borders on the Soviet Union. The major purpose now served by the embargo is to drive Turkey closer to the Russians.

The rambunctious Fidel Castro could also be sent a message. The U.S. liaison office in Havana, opened last year, could be shuttered. And President Carter, citing human rights abuses in Cuba as well as in such Cuban fiefdoms as Angola and Ethiopia, could declare Castro's Cuba off-limits to Yankee tourists and businessmen.

As for Russia, the sentencing of Yuri Orlov to 12 years in jail and exile for the crime of monitoring the Helsinki Accords prompted four private U.S. groups to cancel trips to the Soviet Union. The U.S. could applaud and encourage such responses. Columnist William Safire suggests that the U.S. consider withdrawing from the Helsinki Accords, which the Soviets have violated with abandon. Some thought might also be given to a reduction of trade and economic relations. Such a move would require careful monitoring to prevent under-the-table agreements, but if Carter and our allies are serious about sending the Russians a message, this route should be investigated. Since 1972 the U.S. has been supplying about half the Soviet Union's grain-import requirements.

Finally, why isn't the Soviet Union treated with the same scorn the world reserves for South Africa? Picking up a suggestion *NR* made last year, the *Economist* has proposed a Western boycott of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow, thereby denying the Russians the propaganda bonanza they hunger for. Perhaps Joseph Califano could be persuaded to declare the Soviet Union hazardous to mental health.

Mr. Carter has many options. If he's serious about confronting the Soviet challenge, he will do something. His tough talk has made it imperative that he act tough.

THE WEEK

■ **TAX COLLECTORS TOOK** it on the chin again last week when Colorado's legislature voted to index the state income tax to the federal inflation rate. That means that taxpayers will not be pushed into higher brackets through inflated dollar earnings and it could save Coloradans an estimated $1 billion in state taxes over the next decade. Which party do you suppose controls the Colorado legislature? Right.

■ **IS THERE SENTIMENT** in the land for labor reform?

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IMPORTANT

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The Sage of Baltimore

Mencken: A Study of His Thought
By Charles A. Fecher
Knopf, 391 pp., $15

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

Fecher is industrious and he writes well, but his talents are essentially those of a stamp-collector rather than of a critic. Sara Mayfield loved it, Huntington Cairns loved it, and Alfred A. Knopf has written a Foreword to it, but my own opinion is that Fecher's ambitious study of H. L. Mencken does little more than probate Mencken's intellectual estate.

Mencken, for the breadth and brilliance of his talents as a writer, magazine editor, and newspaperman, was the greatest journalist in the history of the Republic. He was also one of its broadest and most vivid social critics: a Daniel come to judgment on a ludicrously pre-civilized society onto which had been grafted an absurdly post-civilized one, as if Fran Dodsworth's Berlin had been set down in the heart of the Australian outback. Taken together, his essays provide a more viscerally compelling picture of the United States in the first half of the twentieth century than the novels of Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, and Dos Passos combined. But Mencken's importance has little to do with Fecher's assessment of it. Fecher thinks that Mencken, by his assault upon Puritanism and the genteel effluvia of the New England literary tradition, changed the shape of American letters; that, by his attacks upon the clownish politicos of his time, he helped to ensure that their successors were men of a superior grade; that, by his robust devotion to common sense, he increased its stock to such a degree that, "If there is a larger supply of it today, if life is saner and more intelligent and a bit pleasanter to live, he deserves much of the credit for that fact." Even if it were not true that most of the writers—like Dreiser, whom Mencken defended, and those that he and George Jean Nathan printed in *The Smart Set*—were already people of some renown; that President Coolidge, both as a man and as a Chief Executive, was at least the equal of President Carter; and that life today is arguably less sane and intelligent than it was in Mencken's heyday, the spirits of Rotarianism, Service, and Socialism having subsequently infiltrated the domain of the Fourth Estate—even then, Fecher's claims are trivial. The idea that Pulitzer Prizes and other honoraria of the guild ought to be awarded to journalists according to the palpable effect of their writings is essentially a post-Mencken delusion, a Woodward-and-Bernstein delusion, as foreign to Mencken himself as the rule that a successful journalist must be guilty of golf. Mencken practiced his trade as a sportsman, which is to say as an artist—not as a public servant looking for a medal from his chief.

Fecher's fundamental error is to take Mencken's ideas so seriously—though he admits that they were "seldom original and never profound"—as to miss what was genuinely profound and true in the corpus of his work. Thus he devotes a couple of pages to cleaning up and correcting Mencken's strictures on democracy and the equality of man and thus he makes occasional apology for some of Mencken's more brutal writing—for instance, "The Husbandman," which Fecher calls "at least . . . harsh, and . . . [maybe] downright cruel"—suggesting as he does so that "Perhaps, in today's very different social and cultural conditions, he might exhibit a greater tolerance." Only in passing does he come close to the mark when he observes of one of Mencken's more platitudinous statements that the best one can say of it was that it was phrased as only Mencken could phrase it. (Indeed, the weakest of Mencken's essays may be compared to a Verdi aria of the pre-Boito period: whatever is going on in the libretto, the music is superlative. As Edmund Wilson said though many of Mencken's ideas were really quite stupid, when they were set to that incomparable prose you were no more inclined to ask whether they were true than whether a Brahms symphony were true.)

For of course, what is fundamental to Mencken's work is not "ideas" at all, but attitudes—prejudices, as he said, and as he proceeded to title his volumes of essays. Mencken, who was anaesthetic to "Truths," believed that the history of the intellect was not the history of their discovery but of the

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search-and-destroy forays that led to the demolition of error. He thought that "a horselaugh is worth a thousand syllogisms"; believed, in other words, that a commonsensible attitude toward the world is a far more useful and valid thing than a theory about it. (Here, perhaps, is the clue to Mencken's frequently expressed opinion that music is queen of the arts: his best ideas, he once observed, always occurred to him in musical form.) Yet of all his critics, only Richard Weaver has understood Mencken's work in its fundamental aspect—and approved it on that ground. In *Life Without Prejudice*, Weaver defended prejudice itself as being not necessarily illogical, for all that it is unreasoned. To Weaver, prejudice was simply "built-in principle," "a kind of signature," "often necessary to our personal rectitude, to our loyalty to our whole vision." For the unity and boldness of his prejudice, Weaver compared Mencken to Dr. Johnson.

It goes without saying that Mencken's kind of personalism is today thought to be both irresponsible and in bad taste, and hence *verboten* in most respectable journals and periodicals. Modern life, we are given to understand, is too complex, too fragile, too fraught with danger to be played over by personal eccentricities: for a social and political commentator to describe society in accordance with his whim is tantamount to criminal irresponsibility in an age in which the social, political, psychological, and economic sciences have given us the tools with which to analyze and remake the world. For all the indignation that Spiro Agnew—who in his ignorance suggested that the news media are the greatest potential engines of totalitarianism yet devised by man—inspired among journalists, the timidity of contemporary journalism—its homogeneous flaccidity, its fundamental distaste for outspoken, unrammeled, vigorous criticism—testifies to a belief among media people in the power of ideas to grab innocent bystanders and wrestle them to the ground; in the utter vulnerability of the plain people to the suggestiveness of the written and spoken word; in a determinist view of the relationship between words and deeds.

At this point, one begins to look with greater understanding on what often seems to be an anti-intellectual bias in Mencken. For he did not so much underestimate the importance of ideas as relegate them to their own domain. An idea, to Mencken, was as much a reality as a note of music, but it was not a tool, or even a weapon, save against another idea. Ideas of course have consequences; but their only direct and determined consequences are upon other constructs of the mind, their effects upon the visible world being always indirect and problematical. A theory of human autonomy, of mortal responsibility, is at work here. Men, not ideas, create riots and revolutions; the prevention of them is a job for the militia, not for the censor. When Mencken wrote of Emerson that it was "his central aim in life to liberate the American mind . . . to make liberty more real on the intellectual plane than it could ever be on the political plane," he was exactly describing his own intention. This, of course, accounts for the apparent contradiction between Mencken's Tory politics and his intellectual libertarianism—explains how his roustabout career was perfectly congruent with his dues-paying membership in the bourgeoisie. Certainly there was no contradiction in Mencken's mind: freedom of thought, to be worth anything, must be complete; freedom of action, to be preserved, must be partial.

As for the First Amendment, it was almost sacrosanct to Mencken, because he had read Tocqueville carefully enough to know that, in a mass democracy, the danger is never that too many people will test it, but that too few people are inclined to. □

A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962
By Alistair Horne
Viking, 604 pp., $19.95

HELAS! HELAS! HELAS!

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

It was November 1, 1954, le Toussaint, a semi-holiday in France. The bell on the Agence France Presse teleprinter rang. I looked up from the story I was writing to check. A police station had been attacked in a remote village in the Aurès mountains of Algeria. It was followed by reports of other small-scale raids. But those of us manning the United Press bureau in Paris that morning—blasé veterans of the final climactic battles of the Indochina war—were singularly unimpressed.

There were only seven victims on that initial day of fighting. But the rifle shots that broke the still air of the All Saints Day dawn touched off *A Savage War of Peace*, as Alistair Horne calls his history of the Algerian war that would in seven years: topple the Fourth Republic; destroy the French army; bring de Gaulle to power, and to heel; send over a million and a half French Algerians into exile; and cause between 300,000 and one million deaths among Algerian Muslims, not all of these last by any means at the hands of the French or the enraged *pieds-noirs*. It put an end to the chimera of *l'Algérie Française* and marked a turning point in French imperial history. What France had given up reluctantly in Morocco and Tunisia, under *force majeure* in Indochina and Algeria, she would hasten to accord the rest of her African colonies.

IT IS A FRIGHTFUL story—begotten in the blood of innocents, consumated in the blood of still more innocents—much written about but never as skillfully or even-handedly as in this book. Most of the French protagonists have told their stories, and much of what they have written is self-serving. On the other hand very little has reached the public prints from the Algerian side. Many of the rebel leaders were killed in the maquis. Others died at the hands of their brothers in the fierce internecine feuds that wracked the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) from day one, and which never reached French ears at the time, so tight was Algerian security. Still others have disappeared since or, like Ben Bella, lie in Boumédienne's prisons, forgotten even by the men they led in battle.

Alistair Horne has gathered the threads of this story together with the scholarship and mastery that earned him a Pulitzer for his earlier trilogy on France, *The Fall of France* (the Paris Commune), *The Price of Glory* (Verdun), and *To Lose a Battle* (France 1940). *A Savage War of Peace*

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RANDOM NOTES

■ LEFT OVER FROM MAY: *The Unsuspected Revolution: The Birth and Rise of Castroism* (Cornell, $12.50), by Mario Llerena, is the story of a Cuban journalist who served as Castro's foreign representative in the late Fifties and helped develop his official "ideology," then became disillusioned as the far Left took over Castroism. . . . Rolf H. Wild's *Management by Compulsion: The Corporate Urge to Grow* (Houghton, $10) deplores the "management by soviet" that occurs in huge and diversified corporations, but, oddly, suggests that greater control by stockholders would help to remedy the situation.

■ MORE JUNE TITLES: Jude Wanniski and the Laffer Curve give a splendid show in *The Way the World Works* (Basic, $12.95). Wanniski is an editorial writer at the *Wall Street Journal*. Don't miss his book. . . . Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor* (Farrar, $5.95) deals with the way in which we view both human sickness and society itself. Sontag, at her best, is a brilliant essayist, with a style luminously clear. . . . Close on the heels of Charles Fecher's *Mencken: A Study of His Thought* (see page 784) comes another critical study of the Republic's greatest journalist: *H. L. Mencken: Critic of American Life* (Shoe String Press, $15), by George H. Douglas. . . . In *That Jazz! An Idiosyncratic Social History of the American Twenties* (Putnam, $10.95) Ethan Mordden compares the Twenties to the Seventies and finds them remarkably similar eras. . . . *The Face of China: As Seen by Photographers and Travelers 1860-1912* (Aperture, $25), by L. Carrington Goodrich and Nigel Cameron, has an interesting text and fine photographs. . . . *Uncloaking the CIA* (Free Press, $12.95), edited by Howard Frazier, has been called "a clear, forceful, no-punches-pulled case for dismantling the CIA." . . . The sober prosecutors include: Victor Marchetti, John D. Marks, L. Fletcher Prouty, Kirkpatrick Sale, Representative Michael D. Harrington, and Mrs. Salvador Allende.

■ A JULY BOOK: *Selected Letters of John O'Hara* (Random, $17.95), edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli.

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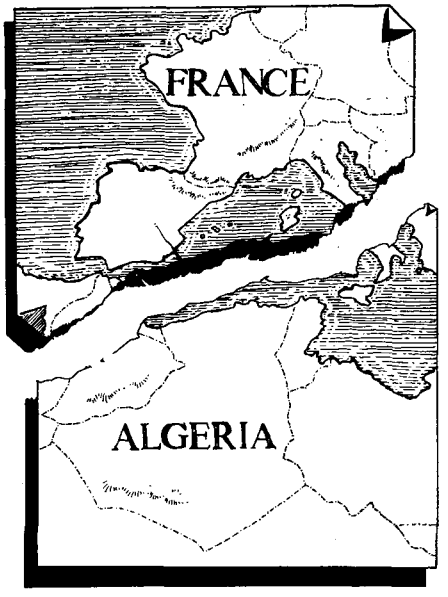
is the first comprehensive English-language history of the war, and the best now, and, I suspect, forever more. Mr. Horne introduces a cast of thousands, Algerian and French, *pieds-noir* and soldier, politician and diplomat—Mendès-France and Pierre Pflimlin, Ferhat Abbas and Saadi Yacef, Colonel Massu and General Challe, even John Kenneth Galbraith and JFK—weaving them in and out of the story so skillfully that the attentive reader seldom loses the thread of the narrative, seldom has to flip back to locate a protagonist's earlier appearance.

The tragic note sounded from the start is that this is a war in which men of goodwill on both sides will go down to resounding defeat. Terror leads to counter-terror, atrocity to savage repression; a *cercle infernal* was forged that swept away before it in a dark red tide of blood the moderates in France and Algeria alike, who fought both hard and nobly, often at the risk of their own lives, for a resolution. And found none. The killing and the murders continued in ever-escalating horror: the farm mother disemboweled, the body of her murdered baby stuffed back into her womb; tough French paratroopers turned into torturers; a terrorist blowing up a casino full of dancing girls and boys; a *pieds-noirs* mob burning a Muslim alive in his own car. A situation from which there seems no egress until a man who casts a tall shadow enters stage right.

It is 1958—four years into the war—and the army threatens to revolt against the collapsing Fourth Republic. De Gaulle, 12 years removed from power, stirs and makes his availability as savior known, and returns to his village, leaving it "to lesser mortals to work out [the precise formula for his return.]" Premier Pflimlin disappears after just 14 days in office, and with him the mortal remains of the Fourth Republic. De Gaulle is sworn in on his own terms and acclaimed as the champion of *l'Algérie Française*, or so General Salan and the others who brought him to power believe.



De Gaulle sends General Maurice Challe to Algeria to mop up the FLN which Challe proceeds to do most competently. With their troops in the field in retreat, de Gaulle offers the FLN *"la paix des braves,"* but the Algerians will settle for nothing short of total independence, freedom without strings. Next de Gaulle calls for self-determination for the Algerians, and, in the field, Captain Sergent, who will later become a leader of the rebel OAS (Organization Armée Secrète), feels that "the FLN flag [will be floating] over Algiers from now on."

In Algiers, the French dissidents start to arm. They throw up barricades in the streets in January of 1960, and for the first time Frenchmen fire on other Frenchmen. In November, de Gaulle acknowledges that there will be an "Algerian Republic" in the future, and the scene is set for open rebellion. In April 1961, the respected and much admired Maurice Challe, who has been badly used by de Gaulle, as was every one of his faithful aides during the Algerian trauma, joins Generals Salan, Zeller, and Jouhaud in dissidence. Challe takes the step knowing in his heart that the revolt is doomed because he fears, rightly, that the Algerian *harkis*, the loyal Muslims who had enlisted in the French army, will be abandoned to their fate in de Gaulle's rush for peace and he wants no part in the betrayal of men who had served him—and France—faithfully.

April 1961. The hour of decision. Aged Sherman tanks start rolling through the streets of Paris. Simone de Beauvoir records that she has nightmares of pythons falling from the skies. No one knows how deeply the disaffection has spread in the army, or whether an invasion of the homeland is planned.

De Gaulle goes on the air and speaks to a nation divided:

> He is dressed in his brigadier's uniform. There are dark circles around the eyes which visibly filled with pain as he

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spoke of his beloved army in revolt . . . of "the nation defied, our strength shaken and by whom? Hélas! Hélas! Hélas! by men whose duty, honor and *raison d'être* it was to serve and to obey. . . ."

He appeals over the heads of his officers to the men crowded around their transistors in the barracks, and they respond. They let their officers know they will not follow them in the attack and the revolt of the Centurions is over. It has lasted four days and five nights.

The bloodshed will continue for months, but with the collapse of the Generals' putsch, the way has been cleared for peace. *Il faut en finir*, says de Gaulle, and the nation responds that yes, it must. "Like Henry Kissinger with Vietnam in 1973," writes Mr. Horne, "[de Gaulle] is a man in a hurry. Nothing else mattered. . . .

NOW ANY CLAIM to the Sahara must be sacrificed, and the best deal possible accepted for the *pieds-noirs*" so that de Gaulle can get on with the job he came out of retirement to undertake, the rebuilding of a strong and glorious France. Time is short, and he is seventy-one.

In the name of the glory of France, the French in Algeria are abandoned. The *colons* at least are helped to relocate in France itself, but the loyal *harkis*, as General Challe had feared, are abandoned to their fate. Nearly a quarter of a million of them will be brutally murdered, in a barbarous settling of scores that exceeds in horror, if possible, what has gone before. For that betrayal Charles de Gaulle must stand forever condemned. He saw clearly that Algeria as an integral part of France was a fiction that could not be maintained, and when it came to cutting the umbilical cord he did so with dispatch. But to have evacuated the loyal Algerians was possible, if inconvenient. At the end the French army controlled all of Algeria. The battle in the field had been won, but that was the battle that didn't count.

A Savage War of Peace is superbly written, a history of our time as pertinent to what is going on in much of the world today as it was when that solitary rifle shot broke the silence in the Aurès mountains that Toussaint morning a quarter of a century ago. □

The Seven Deadly Sins Today
By Henry Fairlie
New Republic Books,
216 pp., $10

GOD-HAUNTED

D. KEITH MANO

The Seven Deadly Sins Today is a P. T. Barnum animal: offspring, I think, of male and female mules. In comparison the Polyester Skin Boy and the Bearded Lady (who calls herself Ms.) are just garage floor smutch. Imagine: this very serious book about *sin* by a socialist, an agnostic (a "reluctant disbeliever"), and a sharp-stick-in-your-eye fine prose stylist. Henry Fairlie's theopolitical exercise is the first significant contribution to socialist doctrine—car pools, aside—since maybe 1938.

And probably the last. HF senses—though he is reluctant to believe—that socialism has flopped like Margaux Hemingway. It could embitter him. " . . . Socialism has seldom before been so generally mean-spirited and at the same time exclusively interested in the redistribution of material goods." Right, right, and right. Systems have capsized, yet men triumphantly managed to be just as grasping, selfish, and prideful as they were under robber baron capitalism. This, for any honest socialist, is a swift boot in the reproductives: after all—socialist, Communist, liberal—each one has blamed some sort of System for human misery. HF, I admire his courage, concedes that the individual is at least accessory after, before, and while. Moreover, you can feel relentless New Left pressure beneath HF's firm, but defensive, counter-pummeling. "There is no reason . . . why someone who believes in a more equal distribution of goods should also believe in more permissive standards of behavior." No reason: you don't get many massage parlor handouts walking through Red Square. "It is characteristic of our age that people want to have God but do not want to have the Devil." Right, right, and right again. Yet HF, in the process of

bringing Satan back from Argentina or wherever, does zip to rehabilitate God. He will use a present active for Beelzebub ("the Devil moves"), and a conditional for God ("God may move). Very selective spirituality here; he kind of subscends the material world. This is a man in great pain: he rips ligaments trying to get away from salvation. Call your priest and stick Henry Fairlie on the prayer list next mass.

Mind now, there's nothing I cotton to more than a book about sin. I wallow and shout ah-men and beat my vest pocket lintless. If it's worth doing, it's worth doing well: that's how I feel about sin. I am one of the most heinous sinners in East Creation: which is a prideful statement. And that very perception of pridefulness is prideful. And so on down the black chute. HF can write about sin with tigerish, keen (and theologically reliable) firmness such as I have not heard from any Episcopal pulpit since God got hired by HEW. Oh, he gave me suffering; I relished every page of it.

Suffering, but no relief. And this is where the book will go slack, despite its declared martial law. Few people can crash diet on guilt: after a while despair or acedia will click in. For there is really just one fatal sin, and HF—not yet Christian—doesn't comprehend that. Disregard Pride, Lust, Gluttony, Avarice, Envy, Sloth or Anger: home in on Fear. Fear is both cause and symptom of human evil. A lustful man fears for his masculinity; an avaricious man . . . well, check them off one by one yourself. And fear is *the* sign of Christian faithlessness. If you trust Christ, His promise, worldly things are without consequence or threat. Simple fact: you can test a person's Christian maturity by the amount of fear left in him. And fear is Magic-Slated, wiped away, through God's new covenant alone. "If it is in our natures to do evil, it can and ought to be in our characters to resist it." A commendable sentiment and certainly true: but sheer dependence on human will involves pride. By avoiding one sin, HF is squeeze-played by another. "Love and do what you please," said St. Augustine. Faith (Christ-love) comes first: good work will follow spontaneously: to the degree of faithfulness. *Deadly Sins*, no matter how well written, will become a morbid parade ground drill.

But, heck, what better antitoxin could

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socialist Fairlie prescribe in 1978? The Big Redistribution will only deflect Avarice toward contemptible black-market humbug. Without its Christian moral hardpan, civilization has naturally dispersed like a blown-on dandelion head: into wind-caught selves. Upshot: either New Left permissiveness or repression. Moreso, because self (soul) is a Christian idea. Before BC became AD, particularly before St. Augustine, there was no intricate soul, no secret person with value and distinctive attributes. People and rock had just about the same spiritual relationship with God (or gods), give/take an occasional burnt offering. " . . . Sin in Christian theology was part of its tremendous redefinition of human personality over the centuries. Since that redefinition, none other has taken us much further." Further? Backwards: now soul is Psyche, a pagan demi-goddess. It can hardly commit sin, let alone generate the dynamics of expiation. Fairlie has hoped, by refurbishing sin, by making it a sublime (if secular) thought-construct, to nudge socialist responsibility awake. The attempt is great-hearted and elegant: it has eccentric drama to it: rather like a late 1700's pre-fab ruined monastery with live-in pre-fab ruined monks. Yet only his immaculate prose and clear intelligence will prevent the book from being, at essence, not much more than old-fanglish social gospel. A Salvation Army tract.

AH, BUT HF can write: he hits the 1-3 pocket, strike, time and again. Appreciate this handsome sentence re abortion, re Woman's-Right-To-Control-Her-Own-Body. "Most unwanted pregnancies are themselves the result of a woman having lost control of her own body—to impulse, whim, passion or lust—and the demand for non-therapeutic abortions is a demand only to remove the consequences of having previously forfeited control over her own body, which she now imagines she may reassert with surgical assistance from someone else." Palpable hit. In unvarnished fact: HF is a social conservative. (As for economic good sense: he'd have trouble getting tenure at Woolworth's.) But forbid him certain words—capital, price, wage, redistribution—HF would fit on the masthead of *NR*. And do it honor.

Yet his book concludes with a trivial homage to science. If this is the best socialist thought can contrive—and I suspect that is so—then its doctrine has no more relevance today than Monroe's. But not Henry Fairlie: he is too wise, decent and God-haunted. Grace will steal in upon him some star-candescent night. □

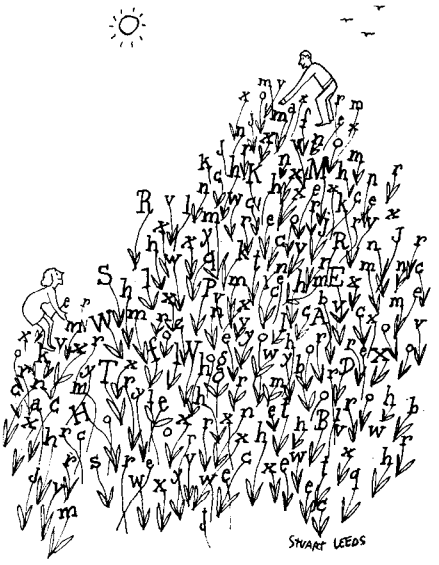
No Offense
By John Murray Cuddihy
Seabury, 232 pp., $12.95

THE ORDEAL OF HUMILITY

JEFFREY HART

In 1974, John Murray Cuddihy published *The Ordeal of Civility*. It was nominated for a National Book Award, and became not only a *succès d'estime* but also a *succès de scandale*. Most reviewers handled it as if it were radioactive, and, in a sense, they were right.

Ordeal dealt with the familiar tradition-modernity (*Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*) collision, but it did so in a new way. It took as its specific example the Jewish collision with Western modernity, bringing to bear on Freud, Marx, and others the insights not only of the sociology of knowledge but of a wide range of other modes and perspectives, including the close-reading techniques of the New Criticism. The result was intellectually breathtaking. No other book I know of describes the Jewish situation so clearly, and this was one thing that made *Ordeal* such a sensitive item. Freud and Marx—in Cuddihy's perspective anti-modern thinkers, indeed at war with modernity—can never look the same to us again. *Ordeal* is one of the major works of original thought in our period.



Now, with *No Offense*, Cuddihy has done it again. This is another highly original breakthrough into unexplored and to some degree forbidden territory. Like *Ordeal*, this book possesses an extraordinary richness of texture. Single paragraphs develop ideas which in other writers would inform chapters and even entire volumes. Illumination occurs on every page, and neither the reader nor, indeed, the informed religious consciousness can emerge unchanged.

Here is Cuddihy's thesis in barest terms. In America, the most modern nation, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism exist a) in pluralist circumstances, and b) in the sociocultural environment of modernity. These facts, Cuddihy argues, have led to *doctrinal* changes of a far-reaching character.

Thus, first in practice and then in theory, the Catholic Church gave up its age-old claim to be *the* universal church. It became another American denomination. John Courtney Murray was a principal architect of the necessary formulations, no longer viewing pluralism as a transitory second-best, but *welcoming* it.

Thus, again, Reinhold Niebuhr laid it down as doctrine that attempts to convert Jews to Christianity are wrong on theological principle—a view that would, of course, have scandalized St. Paul. Thus further, modernizing Jews have had to mute the ancient theological claim to chosenness and to become one of three "equal" denominations.

Cuddihy himself is ultimately on the side of the modernizers, but he has a great deal of sympathy for the resisters: his chapter on Leonard Feeney is beautiful, and charitable. He knows that the clash between tradition and modernity can be tragic, agonizing, as well as exciting and brilliant. He illuminates it in a series of studies of John Courtney Murray, Leonard Feeney, Reinhold Niebuhr, Will Herberg, Arthur Hertzber, and, as background, two hundred million Americans who are living through these experiences at one level or another.

Again, and this time from a different

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perspective, Cuddihy shows that Marx was a deeply reactionary thinker, in a way the last medieval Schoolman. Marx's great Manichean, apocalyptic clash is conceivable only in pre-modern circumstances with their compact social classes. Modernity involves complex social differentiations. The Marxist model is dated, its analysis backward-looking and irrelevant.

The Ordeal of Civility, exploring the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* clash in the specific example of Jewish experience, provided, so to speak, a phenomenology of Jewish "differentness"—and this was its scandal. *No Offense* might have been subtitled "the religious cost of modernity," or "the secret sellouts of ecumenism." Cuddihy knows where the bodies are buried; he digs them up and lays them out in rows.

A stunning book, a great one. I have one question about it, however, and I suppose you could call it a methodological question. Just *what* reality is primary? This book, a superb example of the sociology of culture, implicitly answer, "culture and society." They, ineluctably, shape our view of things. The methodology appears to assume that there is no purchase outside "culture."

But ideas, including religious ones, can be either true or false. Okay, the Catholics and the Jews and the fundamentalist Protestants have undergone the ordeal of civility and many of them now smile at each other in pluralist comfort, practicing the "religion of civility." But, just suppose, say, that Christianity is *true*. That what Christianity claims happened, did happen. That the most *modern* scientific techniques result, say, in the conclusion that, for example, the Shroud of Turin is authentic—a conclusion that would by itself go far toward authenticating the New Testament as *history*. What then? If Christian claims are correct, does that not mean that counter-assertions are incorrect?

The Shroud and its implications shed an ironic light on Albert Schweitzer, to whom Cuddihy dedicates *No Offense*: "Dedicated to Albert Schweitzer, in fellowship and homage . . . who 'bore the marks of pain.' " The point here seems to be that Schweitzer *gave up* traditional Christianity, just as the religion of civility does. Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus* issues in negative conclusions about the possibility of reaching any genuine historical knowledge about Jesus, and Schweitzer endured, suffered, in this negative quest. But Schweitzer's book is old-fashioned, a kind of *Middle of the Journey*. We in fact seem to have located the historical Jesus, complete with photographs.

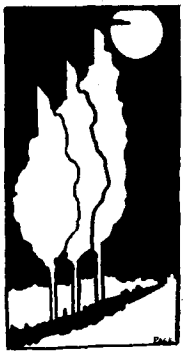
And so the tale to be told by modernization may have a few more chapters in it, and sociology may have to give way to truth and history on these fundamental questions. It is quite possible that the civil religion will end up in the dustbin of history. □

TELEVISION

THE REAL AMERICAN

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

"A funny thing happened on the way to the Bicentennial," says Ben Wattenberg. "The dominant rhetoric of intellectual discourse turned gloomy—surely on the Left, often on the Right." For years now, Wattenberg has been limning America's prettier profile in books (*The Real Majority*, with Richard Scammon, and *The Real America*) and articles (he created a stir a few years back by arguing in *Commentary* that blacks have indeed made great progress). Now he is making his case on television, with the second season of his series *In Search of the Real America*. A demographer by training, he makes his case for America with hardnosed optimism: "The technological optimists," he argues, "have been the realists." He is the world's most rigorous booster. He makes gloom seem like a superstitious sentiment.



Each installment of *In Search of the Real America* takes up a tenet of the Galbraithian creed and refutes it—buries it with stats, charts, graphs, film clips, interviews, and gentle humor. The first in the new series, "The Bomb That Fizzled," pooh-poohed the population "explosion." New York's "ritzy Upper East Side," Wattenberg remarks, is more thickly populated than Calcutta; we forget this because Manhattan's well-heeled masses are distributed in skyward layers. As for the postwar baby boom, that was nothing but a slight kink on a graph that has been diving for more than a century. And the trend to slow population growth is apparently global. Is it possible? At the least, Wattenberg makes it possible to listen to the Paul Ehrlichs with a skepticism born of the understanding that there is more than one intelligent opinion on the subject. An interview—an argument, really—between Wattenberg and a ZPG leader makes it clear that it is she, not he, who speaks from deep reserves of shallowness.

The second show, "Pig of the World," is better yet. It denies that America is gobbling up the natural wealth of the world. Wattenberg contends, with refreshing logic, that the "wealth" of the Third World only becomes wealth when someone finds use for it—which the Indians of Bolivia never did with tin, and which they never would have done (extrapolating from their behavior over millennia) without the arrival of technologically advanced peoples. Wealth, he reminds us, is produced by "the mind of man." (Such is the power of cliché that I'd almost forgotten that.) Herman Kahn appears briefly to note the vast *expansion* of the world's known mineral reserves. P. T. Bauer, as blunt and crusty as they come, points out that the poorest nations are those that have had *least* contact with the West; the former colonies are the truly "developing" nations, having acquired from their "exploiters" not only the techniques but the very idea of material progress. When Stewart Udall tries to rebut all this, Wattenberg gently mashes him. Not least among *In Search*'s virtues is its exposure of the posture of pessimism and guilt as a reality-denying political neurosis.

Later shows will address problems posed by student protest, unions, CIA abuses, disaffected intellectuals, race, big business, Vietnam, and the Imperial Presidency. Interviewees will include S. I. Hayakawa, Ramsey Clark, Milton Friedman, Richard Helms, William Colby, Jean François Revel, Julian Bond, Daniel P. Moynihan, and James

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Schlesinger, some of whom will try to wipe the smile off Wattenberg's face.

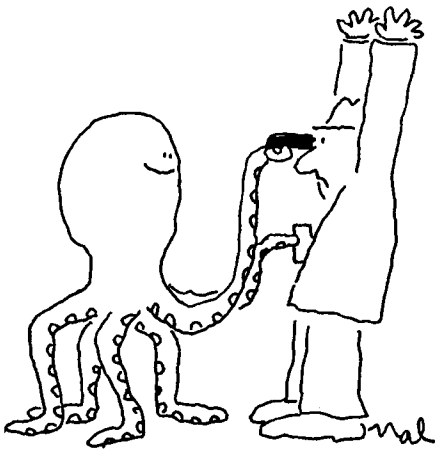
They won't succeed. There is too much intelligence behind that smile. Wattenberg insists, too, that America is a happy place as well as an objectively good one: "I believe, despite what we hear these days, that the American experience has been a successful one—that it has set into motion a remarkably healthy and creative process around the world. And I believe that most Americans share that view." He wants to make them unafraid to express it. Optimism nowadays seems not so much erroneous as indecorous. Pessimism has been bullish, a growth industry of sorts, that has created a new class of critics and regulators who condemn the surplus of prosperity even while rechanneling it to themselves; quacks with a vested interest in hypochondria.

WATTENBERG himself, an immigrant's son, was raised in a secular social-democratic–Zionist home, with an ingrained gratitude to this country that is uncomplicated by the religious and Old World ties that so often impart ambivalent strains to the appreciation of America. He senses that European background; he respects it; but he doesn't seem to yearn for it. Without a golden past, a utopian future, or a transcendent dimension standing above time, he is singularly at one with America. He is characteristically American in his pragmatic idealism; equally so in his feeling that it is unreasonable to be disappointed in a country that has achieved so much so humanely. He is a Democrat, but of that dying breed that regards all the components of the nation —ethnic groups, business, labor, intellectuals—as legitimate, and reconcilable. He seems to like even the people he's defending the country against, because they're part of it. He has some of Lyndon Johnson's and Hubert Humphrey's (and Willmoore Kendall's) faith in the benign absorbency of the democratic process, and he wants to save coalition from ideology.

He finds many conservatives as irrationally gloomy as most liberals. At risk of sounding a wee bit un-American, I think it is fair to reply that we are (like Wattenberg himself, as it happens) quite rational to worry about the state of our defenses and about the erosion of those conditions that have made the nation prosperous. Besides, private wealth, cheapened by inflation, is increasingly sucked into that black hole in Washington. In the name of Responsiveness, we are governed to death by an inscrutable bureaucracy and an oracular judiciary, while we reorder our lives and in fact the whole economy around a competitive scramble to flee from the crime our humanitarian rulers are too preoccupied to do anything about.

There are deeper troubles, not always measurable on the secular indices of happiness. Abortion, for instance. I don't think one need oppose its legalization to see in its increase a derogation of human affect that is of a piece with the rise both in crime and in the flood of violent and pornographic entertainments. And can all this be unrelated to the lack of national morale that not only prevents us from resisting the advance of Communist brutalism, but allows our leaders to snub a Solzhenitsyn while proclaiming their—our—spiritual solidarity with his persecutors?

It is typically American to love some things even more than America. That is why many of us feel that our country has been not only weakened lately, but profaned. For all the damage they did, many of the antiwar forces felt this too, in their own way. Probably it is a healthy thing, right now, to dwell, even to insist, on our national virtues and accomplishments. Certainly Wattenberg is among the most refreshing and stimulating things on television. But I have a feeling he won't find the real America until he confronts that unease in the souls of so many Americans who really do love their country. □



DELECTATIONS

YOU'RE THE TOPS

NIKA HAZELTON

Recently, I had an outstanding dinner in an extraordinary restaurant—I use both adjectives deliberately. The place is The Cellar in the Sky, part of the restaurant complex on the ground and top floors (and some intermediate floors) of the World Trade Center 1 Tower in New York. When the twin towers of the Trade Center were built, the problem of how to feed the multitudes who'd be working there was an urgent one. The task of solving the problem fell to Joe Baum, without doubt the most influential restauranteur in the United States and a genius in his field—again I use the words deliberately. He was singlehandly responsible for the vast restaurant revolution of the late Fifties, when he changed what had been the only standard for restaurant elegance—French, with plush banquettes, etc. He created such places as The Four Seasons, The Forum, La Fonda del Sol, and the Brasserie, unforgettable for their food and surroundings: how I remember the collection of Mexican folk art in La Fonda, museum pieces all. Happily, The Four Seasons, though now in other hands, is carried on in the same spirit in which it was created.

WINDOWS ON THE WORLD, the collective name of the restaurants on the 107th floor of the building, occupy about one acre of floor space swathed in glass and with the most spectacular view in New York. The Statue of Liberty is but a toy way down below, the city's skyline an airplane photograph, and, on a clear day, you can see fifty miles. In a snow storm, or when thick clouds swirl by, you get an even more extraordinary feeling of being in space. Starting with this unequaled view, Joe Baum has architecturally so arranged his restaurants that every single diner in the various restaurants, such as the Hors d'Oeuvrerie, the City Lights Bar, and The Restaurant, shares the view, thanks to the terraced tables. I'll write about these

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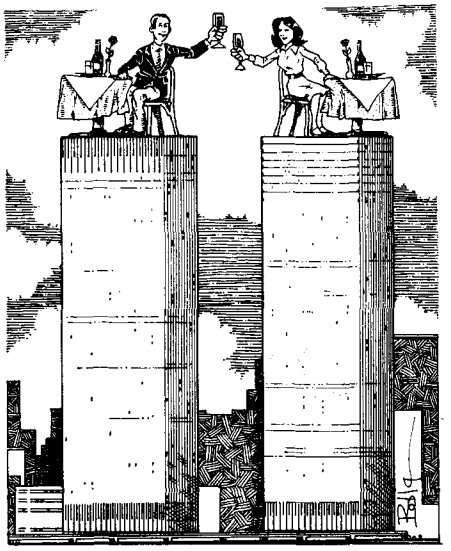
restaurants and the ground floor establishment, The Market Place, some other time, because they all are differently priced and wonderfully out of the ordinary (you can also have private dining rooms with the same view).

Today I want to report on The Cellar in the Sky, an inner room off a passage lit by the tall windows of the top floor, whose glass walls house wine racks stocked with bottles through which comes a dappled light. The place has an intimate, club-like air, with comfortable tables and chairs, Rosenthal china, and various wine glasses. The room seats only 35 people, and the attentive staff is supervised by cellarmaster Kevin Zraly and Pepe Enriquez, the maître d'. Where the Cellar is different from other restaurants is that it offers a *prix fixe* dinner served at a single sitting, whose $45 tab includes five outstanding wines, around which the seven courses are designed. Considering the food and the wine, which are liberally poured, this is a very good deal indeed. Our dinner started with a pale fino sherry from Wisdom and Warter, drawn no less from a 1908 solera and wonderful of its kind; it retails for around $30 a bottle. It was served with a mashed eggplant appetizer seasoned with tahini, olive oil, and lemon juice, and then whipped, which made it deliciously light and creamy. The sherry was suitably continued for a double consommé with field mushrooms and the chicken quenelles that followed. A chilled Muscadet Marquis de Goulaine Magnum 1976 was poured with an elegant seafood flan of scallops, lobster, shrimp, and mussels in a custard flavored with a reduction of seafood essences, and served with a truffle and lobster sauce. For our edification, we tasted an Eltviller Sonnenberg Kabinett Schloss Eltz 1975 along with the Muscadet, an interesting comparison with that course; I preferred the Muscadet, but others like the Rhenish wine better.

Freemark Abbey is a small Napa Valley winery about whose magnificent wines I have written before in this column. Their 1973 Cabernet Sauvignon, a big, round wine with a fine nose, came with roast lamb, a saddle stuffed with a forcemeat of lamb and rosemary and a bit of thyme, and a rack. We were served portions of both rack and saddle, pink and tender meat



than which I have never had better. In fact, it was extraordinary meat, both in quality and cooking. Following the entree was a crisp and cooling salad of arugula and red leaf lettuce dressed with walnut oil, vinegar, mustard, chives, thyme, and tarragon. From here we went into a platter of cheeses, Roquefort, Corolle, and the Italian Fontina, all in prime condition. I did not know the Corolle, shaped in a ring, with an outer part softer than the center, and I liked it very much. The wine that was served with the cheese can only be described as glorious: a 1966 Chateau Beychevelle, a St. Julien Bordeaux, noted for its breeding, delicacy and finesse—all of this in an outstanding vintage year. Chateau Beychevelle is an actual, and very picturesque, chateau, dating from 1757, which overlooks the estuary of the Gironde and was once owned by the Grand Admiral of the French Fleet, the Duke of Epernon. The name is said to have come from the French "baisse voile" or "lower sail," a gesture of tribute to the Duke. The wine is classified as a fourth growth, but such is its quality that it now brings higher prices than many second growths; it too was poured liberally.

Not on the menu were two very good California Cabernet Sauvignons, a Chappellet 1973 and a Robert Mondavi 1973, which cellarmaster Zraly, who is young, and as polite as he is knowledgeable (and this far beyond his years), poured us as a treat: the French wine was far more elegant and complex. The dinner ended with a Chocolate Strawberry Tart of chocolate pastry, bavarian cream, chocolate genoise, and fresh strawberries, prettied with a ribbon of soft chocolate and tied with a chocolate bow. Its mate was an excellent Niersteiner Auglanger Auslese 1976, one of the great names in German wines from the Rhine south of Mainz. The wine had fine fruit, fragrance, and balance, but I think the dessert was too much for it. All in all, quite a meal, generous both in food and wines, and charmingly served. A guitarist in the back plays soothing—mainly classical—music which contributes to the festive feeling of the place; dining there is indeed an occasion.

As I said, there is just one sitting at 7:30. Reservations are necessary and you can check the menu and the wines, which change weekly or so, by phone. The number is (212) 938-1111. □

FILM

DISHONEST DENIM

JOHN SIMON

Why has the blue-collar worker been so neglected by American movies? Because his life does not usually lend itself to that combination of melodramatic sensationalism and escapist fantasy on which Hollywood thrives. There are no opulent furnishings, exotic journeys, or even, presumably, clever repartee in such a life. Its violence and crimes are considered merely sordid, except when they become so spectacular as to turn the movie into a genre film, a gangster or caper picture, a *policier* or *film noir*. In short, a film that no longer concerns itself with the everyday realities of working-class life.

Rightly or wrongly, working-class reality is assumed to be something that the blue-collar moviegoer wants to transcend as soon as possible; or, having risen above it, never look back upon. Yet one aspect of workers' lives is dynamic and dramatic by any standard: the labor union movement and the struggle upward on the economic ladder. But that is explosive material, not calculated to please the capitalists who finance movies, and apt to displease, no matter how it is handled, one or another class of viewers. Manual labor

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itself is not considered photogenic, except perhaps in a short documentary about jockeys, glass blowers, or steeplejacks. As for full-length documentaries —or any narrative films that might resemble them excessively—they are as welcome at the box office as the Black Death.

IT IS, THEREFORE, a characteristic of American films that dare begin in a blue-collar milieu to veer away from it as fast as possible: thus *Five Easy Pieces* abandons the oil rigs and the lives around them very quickly. Films that deal with workers' lives in some detail either concentrate on picturesque toil on the earth with lots of tragic acts of God (e.g., *The Southerner*), or follow workers through some exceptional crisis (e.g., *The Grapes of Wrath*), or concentrate on a psychiatric case (e.g., *A Woman Under the Influence*), or have to be made abroad and are barely seen in the country they deal with (e.g., *Give Us This Day*, an adaptation of *Christ in Concrete*).

So it is still a bit of a rarity for two working-class films like *Blue Collar* and *F.I.S.T.* to come along almost simultaneously. But Paul Schrader's initially realistic *Blue Collar* very rapidly turns into a highly improbable, funny caper movie, then hurtles into far-fetched melodrama. Moreover, it fails even in its early sequences to convince us that the workers' lot is bad enough to require their desperate stratagem—otherwise how could they afford the expensive drug-and-sex orgies they are seen indulging in. For Schrader, Zolaesque naturalism is just an excuse for kinkiness and bizarrely savage effects.

F.I.S.T., on the other hand, is a thinly disguised fictionalization of the rise and fall of Jimmy Hoffa, and purports to tell an atypical but not incredible working-class life story as it really happened, or really might have happened. Typically, this film, directed by Norman Jewison from a screenplay by Sylvester Stallone and Joe Eszterhas, can hardly wait to introduce us to corrupt or exploitative management figures in the Cleveland of the 1930s, where it begins, so that evil is to be perceived less as poverty, overwork, and boredom than as sadistic meanness from those on top toward those below, and so the stage is set for rebellious heroics.

Jewison has directed the scenes of labor violence well enough, though without particular distinction. But the brief scenes in which we observe Johnny Kovak (Stallone) and his best friend in their family circles or courting their women (played as well as circumstances permit by Melinda Dillon and Cassie Yates) are conventional in the extreme. Not much better are the scenes in which Johnny, now a growing force in the labor movement, gets involved with a former friend turned petty gangster (nicely acted by Kevin Conway), and eventually with a bigger racketeer, Babe Milano (Tony Lo Bianco, good although somewhat schematic). All this would be derivative and second-rate in any case; based on pungent reality, it is depressingly insipid.

We are to be impressed by Kovak-Hoffa's charisma, but here, too, things are made unduly hard for us. Both Johnny's rabble-rousing oratory and his tough speeches during negotiations are essentially uninspired, and Stallone, repeating his Rocky performance minus some of its charm, fails to move us. Sometimes the thickness of his speech renders him incomprehensible; sometimes his jauntiness coarsens into mere arrogance. Still, he does have good moments when his hangdog features clamber into cockiness, and he gets fine support from such able actors as Peter Boyle, Peter Donat, and Ken Kercheval, among others.

THE FILM was orginally planned as much longer than its present 145 minutes, and was then shortened simplistically by having its middle cut out. So we have a rather lame before-and-after construction, further marred by dishonesty in crucial matters. Thus Kovak never commits a single truly bad deed: he does acquire the help of underworld goons, but this is represented as the only way of overcoming management goons backed by the police; he does once, during a riot, batter an unconscious man to death, but this is shown as hardly more than self-defense tinged with righteous anger; and he does make deals with Babe Milano, but only for the good of his Federation of Inter State Truckers (hence the acronym F.I.S.T., even if "Interstate" is really one word and, from what one reads of Stallone's tantrums during production, F.I.T. might have been more appropriate). Never, though, does he take anything for himself and his family, and his rise to the presidency of the union is so clean, his downfall so undeserved, that we cannot even weep for him: our tears would be too saline for such sweetness.

It is equally improbable that his idealistic buddy, however estranged, would rat on Johnny in this particularly holier-than-thou and inept, yet still damaging, way to a congressional investigating committee. And the ending (one of three that were tried) is just too obvious and flat-footedly executed. But the film does have one imaginatively directed and strikingly photographed (by Laszlo Kovacs) sequence in which bargaining for an 8.5 per cent wage increase is made visually exciting. Furthermore, Rod Steiger turns a Kefauver-like investigating senator into someone interestingly ambiguous: his muckracking is so smug and self-righteous as to cast doubt on his high-mindedness. This touch of complexity is achieved, perhaps only inadvertently, through Steiger's basic unlikableness, but it does give the movie a bit of much-needed shading. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

MALLOWAN'S MEMOIRS, *by Max Mallowan (Dodd, Mead, 320 pp., $10.95).* The memoir is often a tiresome affair. Occasionally there emerges from the autobiographical thicket a collection of reminiscences that is neither ostentatious in design nor self-serving in tone. The reader is left with the glow of shared experience and a desire to know the author. Sir Max has written such a book, and it would be a shame if you pass this volume by because archaeology is just not your cup of tea. To be sure, there is a careful recounting of the author's distinguished career which led him from the expedition to Ur in 1925 to the discoveries at Nimrud a half century later. Between digs he met and married Agatha Christie, who joined several expeditions that would provide grist for her considerable imagination. The chapters devoted to his talented wife are touchingly drawn, providing us a glimpse of this remarkable lady whose introversion was complemented by her husband's dry wit. Examples of the latter are sprinkled throughout the text, providing a balance that makes for delightful reading. When recalling the strict

(Continues on page 795)

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Dark Horses

M. STANTON EVANS

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, as a youthful scholar at MIT, Martin Anderson brought out a critique of the urban renewal program entitled *The Federal Bulldozer*. Though numerous other books have been written on the subject, Anderson's was justly regarded as definitive. With it, the issue was considered settled—against the advocates of urban renewal.

Now Professor Anderson—since become a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution—bids fair to do for welfare reformers what he did for renovators of the central cities. His newly published study, *Welfare: The Political Economy of Welfare Reform* (Hoover Press, Stanford, Calif. 94305, $10), is the most informative book on public welfare to pass this way in years, displaying to good advantage the author's diligence in research and gift for clarifying complex issues.

Anderson begins with a convincing demonstration that poverty in the United States has been, in fact, abolished. The $286 billion expended annually (as of 1976) for social welfare purposes at all levels of government, despite considerable leakage of benefits to the bureaucracy, has spread enough largesse around to have eliminated everybody's penury. Only the Census Bureau's habit of omitting in-kind services from income computations has managed to conceal this staggering achievement from the public.

Unfortunately, Anderson shows, the achievement has its negative side-effects, most notably the creation of a laidback class which finds it more profitable to loaf than work. To earn a dollar often means to give up 50 or 70 cents or more in welfare benefits, an overwhelming disincentive. The problem can be solved only by a) permitting benefits to be paid to working people in middle-to-upper income brackets (in which case the costs would be prohibitive), or b) setting benefits at such low levels as to outrage the powerful welfare-rights constituency. The only way out, Anderson concludes, is a decrementalist tightening of the existing system along the lines developed by Ronald Reagan and Robert Carleson in California.

Supporting Anderson's thesis from somewhat different perspectives are Professor David Meiselman's excellent monograph, *Welfare Reform* (Law and Economics Center, University of Miami Law School, Miami, Fla. 33124, $2.50), and two new computations of the present array of federal welfare programs: *The Welfare Industry*, by Charles D. Hobbs (Heritage Foundation, 513 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, $3), and *An Inventory of Federal Income Transfer Programs*, by William J. Lawrence and Stephen Leeds (Institute for Socioeconomic Studies, White Plains, N.Y. 10604, $12).

DR. MEISELMAN, professor of economics at VPI, shows that the problem of unemployment supposedly addressed by President Carter's jobs-and-welfare program is chiefly the result of government policies, including the minimum wage, support for restrictive union practices, and the "crowding out" of private investment by public spending and taxation. The main effect of Carter's program, Meiselman shows, would be to increase all of these problems, and to expand the welfare class by encouraging people to abandon private employment for official makework.

The computations of federal welfare/income-transfer programs, though employing different definitions, emerge with strikingly similar conclusions. Hobbs figures that in 1976 there were 44 major welfare programs spending $187 billion. Lawrence and Leeds discovered 182 income transfer programs (a broader category, obviously), dispensing $250 billion in 1977. On either calculation, we are spending a quarter of a trillion annually to help poor people, enough to provide a per capita grant of $10,000 to every impoverished person recorded in the Census. That works out to $40,000 a year for a family of four, and sort of makes you wonder where the money went. □

How to lower taxes without cutting social spending.

Jude Wanniski, *Wall Street Journal* Associate Editor, working at the hub of political and financial information flow, is eminently qualified to write this provocative and thoughtful book. Using the Laffer Curve as his principal instrument of analysis, Wanniski demonstrates irrefutably that tax rates can be lower and less progressive *without* cutting social spending (a plan which has, in fact, been embraced by the GOP).

In THE WAY THE WORLD WORKS, Wanniski demonstrates the effectiveness of his approach with many historical examples, including a remarkable analysis of the '29 crash and other case studies from the age of the Caesars to modern times. His book offers a fresh, coherent way of understanding how economic systems work and how government economic decisions affect every person's pocketbook.

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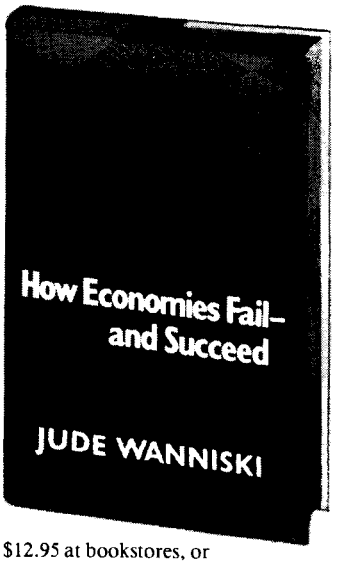

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[JOHN] WAIN

[The] Living World of Shakespeare

Civilized . . . poets . . . see a poignant contrast between the artificiality of their own way of life and the natural simplicity of the countryman's. They do not, of course, wish to change places with the countryman and undertake his rude toil, or exchange their own refinement for his simplicity.

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BRIEFS

(Continued from page 792)

regimen at Oxford, Sir Max relates a tutor's admonition: "It will not be long, he said, before you have forgotten all the philosophy you have learned in the exercise, but at least from now on you will always recognize nonsense when you encounter it. This was indeed the reward for doing Classical Greats, and when I read the works of some of the renowned sociologists of our time, Marcuse or the like, I can but wish that they had read their compositions to my philosophical tutors and received the castigation that is their due." ALAN L. MILLER

THE SHROUD OF TURIN: *The Burial Cloth of Jesus Christ?, by Ian Wilson (Doubleday, 272 pp., $10).* In this copiously illustrated book about the Shroud of Turin, British journalist Ian Wilson recounts the recent history of what many believe to be the winding sheet of Jesus, and theorizes about the unaccounted for 1,500 years of its past. With scholarly precision, Wilson reveals the results of the 1973 Shroud Commission study which raised more questions than it answered about the 14-foot strip of linen imprinted with frontal and dorsal images of a crucifixion victim. He also relates findings showing the images' lack of directionality—proof that the Shroud was not painted—and other research suggesting the images were produced by a three-dimensional figure radiating great heat. Although Wilson agrees with the researcher who feels the burden of proof of the Shroud's authenticity now rests on the shoulders of the non-believers, he is frustrated at the delay in Church approval for more conclusive tests. Wilson supports the Shroud's authenticity with an appealing and credible historical thesis that the "Cloth of Edessa" or "Mandylion" portrait of Christ was actually the Shroud, folded to conceal its identity as an "unclean" death sheet. According to Wilson, the cloth was brought to Edessa shortly after the crucifixion and surrendered to the bishop of Constantinople near the end of the first millennium. Around 1025, the Shroud was unfolded for the first time but rarely displayed and later was exhibited only as a portrait. In 1204, Crusaders sacked Constantinople and the Mandylion/Shroud disappeared; it reappeared as the icon of the Knights of Templar, who were later burned at the stake for heresy, leaving the Shroud to pass into the hands of a supposed relative of one of the Templar leaders. The relative's wife brought the Shroud to public attention once again and then sold it to the family of Savoy in Italy, which retains possession. Wilson ends *The Shroud of Turin* with the hope that scientists will determine the secrets of the Shroud in conjunction with the four-hundredth anniversary celebration, in May 1978, of its arrival in Turin. He will undoubtedly write a fuller ending to this book in the form of a sequel solving this Christian and scientific mystery which may profoundly affect the world's religious thought and history.

ANDREA KELLEY FEAD

FRANTZELL

(Continued from page 776)

"Who is your friend?"

"Ask him."

"Are you a member of a political party?"

"Yes."

"And your friend also?"

"Also."

"What does your father do?"

"He is a politician."

"Does he have a high position?"

"High enough."

"Does your father know of your trip to the USSR?"

"Yes, of course."

"Well, both you and he know that it is forbidden to bring books into the USSR!"

"Really? But why? To our country, for example, one can bring in any books. In our country people have the right to read anything."

"Well, this isn't Belgium but the USSR."

"How does the USSR differ from Belgium?"

"We want our nation to think according to our ideology."

"You are really naïve people! Do you really believe that 250 million people will think the way you want them to think?"

"It is forbidden to bring in books! You may get ten years for it."

"I know, in Finland we already packed some things in case we would have to go to camp. . . ."

At his "trial" Antoon Pype had the following exchange with the court:

"Living in the West I am free, and as a Christian I feel it my obligation to inform the Soviet people about this freedom. For example about free elections."

"The defendant cannot know the Soviet nation which has freely chosen this regime and this system. Does the defendant know that he risked arrest for his act?"

"Yes I knew, and nevertheless I did only what had to be done. My arrest compromises the Soviet Union, it shows that it does not observe the Helsinki declaration. My appearance in the dock only confirms my arguments. . . ." □

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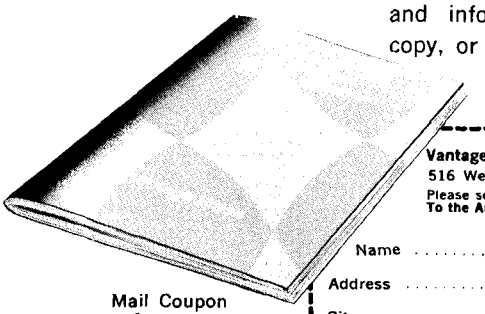

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Why No Eloquence?

On The Right

New York, June 22—Mr. James Reston, who is a very eloquent man, wonders what has happened to eloquence these days. His reference is to the performance thus far at the United Nations, where the mighty of the world have met to deplore the huge planetary budget for arms. It isn't that Reston expected that anything would come of it: nothing, really, ever does under UN sponsorship. But Reston bemoans the absent voices. Men like Roosevelt, and Churchill, and de Gaulle, he said, could by their eloquence affect events. Their successors—Carter, Giscard, Callaghan—speak, and all the birdies stay perched on the trees. Meanwhile, the objective situation, as described, is quite awful. He recites the figures.

We are spending $400 billion per year on arms in the world, which is more than we are spending on education.

The figures rise notwithstanding the nuclear factor. One would think that with the invention of nuclear power, there would be less of a need for the conventional weapons. But of course it doesn't work that way because the success of nuclear technology has precisely the other effect: the weapon is so apocalyptic it is necessary to rely on lesser weapons, so that the production of airplanes and tanks and machine guns and rifles continues unabated. And the poor nations are buying weapons valued at $8 billion per year. Symbolic of the emptiness of the big ritual in New York is that in the opening days as much time was given over to discussing a border fracas in Zaire as to armaments.

One hesitates to instruct Mr. Reston, but one does so anyway.

True eloquence is based on reality, even mythic reality. Prince Hal, delivering the most famous charge in the history of literature, exceeded even Knute Rockne's to Notre Dame.

What would Shakespeare say about disarmament? He could make almost any cause beguiling, witty, ingenious; he could harness the language wonderfully to the uses of seduction, or ambition, or even treachery, these being great human passions. Indeed, viewed through contemporary prisms, King Harry was up to no good at Agincourt, coveting French territory on flimsy genealogic authority. Still, he stirred what then were accepted as honorable passions: to fight for king and country.

But the problem with attempting eloquence at the United Nations is that that which is affirmed by all the surrounding moral maxims is regularly, and systematically flouted. The United Nations is about things like a covenant on human rights; about things like genocide; about self-rule; about the dignity of man. But the countries that dominate the United Nations have no use for these goals. This does not prevent them from praising them.

But how then does a statesman go about appealing to such an assembly for world disarmament? Nations take up arms for reasons good and bad. To defend their liberties. And to wrest from others their liberties. We have not fought an imperialist war in the lifetime of all but American octogenarians. But it was only ten years ago that the Russians used their vast army to douse a flicker of liberalism in Czechoslovakia. The size of our $100 billion per year defense budget is a function of the budget of the Soviet Union. If the Communists disarmed, we could disarm; if the Communists armed purely for the sake of self-protection, even then we could disarm. But the reality is that two great superpowers, the Chinese and the Russians, are bent on world revolution, and every state that opposes them, however tatterdemalion—Shaba province is their most recent objective—is a nubile target. But how do we address them?

THE TROUBLE with the search for eloquence is that it cannot issue except from telling the truth. And, in the United Nations, one is not permitted to tell the truth, because protocol is higher than the truth. The problem, then, is not so much the deterioration of the gift of eloquence as it is that constipation that must come when we are told to speak untruths, or to build our speeches on untruths. That is why the only great eloquence in the world today is that of Solzhenitsyn and his fellows; and they are not permitted to speak at the United Nations. □

PROFESSOR HUTCHINSON'S FIRE

New York, May 30—A remarkable person is operating today in behalf of peace in Rhodesia. He is a professor of labor relations at the University of California in Los Angeles, a Britisher by birth, who along the line became an informal expert on Rhodesia and, at the height of the recent tensions, emerged quietly, almost anonymously, as the one outsider representatives of all factions would talk to. I say all factions, but Professor John Hutchinson draws the line. He does not seek to appease the butchers of the world. The revolutionary agents of the Front Line states have no friend in him.

His instrument is the letter. He regularly addresses Ian Smith, Bishop Muzorewa, Senator Chief Chirau, David Owen, and even—not extraordinarily—the Queen of England. His style, elegant and pungent, draws attention to what he says. His obdurate sense of justice—he never wavered in condemning government in Rhodesia by whites of whites and for whites—brought him, early on, the respectful ear of Bishop Muzorewa. At this moment, Professor Hutchinson is remonstrating with British Foreign Minister David Owen for continuing to impose sanctions against Rhodesia, and with our State Department for declining to admit into the United States Bishop Muzorewa and Senator Chief Chirau.

In a recent letter addressed to Senator Hayakawa, Professor Hutchinson elaborated on State Department hypocrisy. "The truth of the matter, I suspect, is that the United States Government is not particularly interested in full consultation with the internal Rhodesians; it is certainly much more interested in meeting with—and from time to time admiring—the externals. It is a lethal petulance, incompatible with the peace we claim to seek."

Mr. Hutchinson has something very specific in mind. Last fall, Bishop Muzorewa and Chief Chirau put in to visit the United States. Their intention was to inform American public opinion on the new arrangements with Ian Smith. To the dismay of all sensible people, the

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State Department dragged its feet. By doing so, it persuaded Muzorewa and Chirau to withdraw their application rather than invite the imminent rebuff: a refusal to permit them to enter the country.

"The State Department," writes Hutchinson to Hayakawa, "speaks grandly of our obligations to the same Security Council which recently denied a hearing to Bishop Muzorewa while inviting an apppearance by Joshua Nkomo, but is less than clear about Chief Chirau. . . . The official position is that visas are given to Rhodesians only on family or emergency grounds. Chief Chirau has no family here, and evidently peace is not an emergency." Hutchinson's comment is acidulous. "The fact is that almost any Rhodesian can get a visa provided that the issuing of it does not offend some sensitive tyrant in the United States."

HUTCHINSON illustrates the intriguing standards of the State Department in the matter of visas. "Thus the terrorists get visas. Thus the recent issuing of visas to three black Rhodesians to attend a Moral Re-Armament Conference, presumably with relatives on emergency moral business."

On the larger issue of persisting sanctions against Rhodesia, John Hutchinson, who has labored for years to bring a constitutional and non-discriminatory peace in that country, is understandably bitter. To David Owen he wrote a fortnight ago, "On April 26 you told the House of Commons that the United Nations' sanctions against Rhodesia had 'begun to bite' and would continue.

"I find the sentiment incomprehensible except as retribution. Majority rule has been conceded. The problem is a fair election, but terrorism is mounting and the economy declining. Every day of biting sanctions diminishes the Rhodesian ability to meet the legal and administrative conditions for independence, assuming you have a clear mind on what those conditions shall be."

And the haunting, and ultimate question: "What will you do if Rhodesia collapses through your depredations and the Communists invade? Deplore in the wind, as you did on the Horn? Levy sanctions on Havana? Lead a column on the Kremlin? Use Venezuelan sugar in your Chinese tea?"

The wrath is straight out of the Old Testament. "Joshua Nkomo has declined the olive branch. Robert Mugabe wants a bloody Marxist kindergarten. The obsequy you and various American itinerants have shown toward the Patriotic Front has served only to escalate its demands. . . . It [now] seems unlikely that you will give such momentum to freedom. Perhaps you should ratify your servility and put a Cuban on the Rhodesian desk in the Foreign Office. Henry Kissinger had a point last week. The tail is wagging a palsied dog."

That is not a letter Dr. Owen will reply to. What would he say? □

THE EDUCATION OF ALAN DERSHOWITZ

New York, June 4—Professor Alan Dershowitz, who is active—in some respects over-active—in civil rights matters, is honorably engaged in the defense of Anatoly Shcharansky, who is next in line to be framed by the Soviet Union, Yuri Orlov having been given a dose of Soviet justice last week and dispatched to a slave labor camp. Last March Mr. Dershowitz telephoned to Professor John Quigley, who is president of the National Lawyers Guild, requesting that the Guild send an observer to the Shcharansky trial. Dershowitz reported that "he [Quigley] told me that a considerable number of the Guild members approve of the Soviet Union and would not want to criticize a Soviet judicial proceeding." That admission, made over the telephone by the president of the NLG, was most unguarded, inasmuch as the NLG has for years attempted officially to feign a disinterested concern for civil rights, the better to gull into membership unsophisticated young lawyers. Quigley suggested that Dershowitz write a formal letter to the Guild, which he did.

On April 10, Quigley replied that an observer could not be sent to Moscow without the endorsement of the whole membership of the Guild, whose next general meeting would not be held until August. Quigley added, "With respect to the USSR, we have not had discussion or come to any decision about the appropriateness of focusing on human rights issues there"—a statement of which an equivalent would be the president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews telling an inquirer in 1940 that the Conference had not come to any decision about the appropriateness of focusing on race relations in Nazi Germany.

Professor Dershowitz has circulated, along with his correspondence with Quigley, an article from *Moment* magazine, a Jewish-oriented monthly out of Boston. It is called, "The Malpractice of the National Lawyers Guild." It chronicles the anti-Zionist, pro-Palestinian tendencies of the Guild, resulting finally in a declaration affirming the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to speak for the Palestinian people, and narrowly defeating the proposed resolution of the Guild's investigatory commission calling for an end to U.S. support for Israel—a Communist policy objective.

The author of the article made two interesting points. The first is that radical Jewish members of the NLG are "forcing the old-timers to grovel, and there is no better evidence of their own militance—if they're Jews—than toadying up to the PLO. Endorsing the PLO has become a litmus test for Jewish radicals." The other eye-catching statement is a quote from "one observer" of the Guild who describes the machinations within the Guild as follows: "Basically, you [have] a situation where a bunch of Third World types wanted to ensure that the Jews in the Guild—and the Jews are almost certainly a majority—would be forced to eat crow, to choose sides [against Israel, and in favor of the Palestinians.]" A spokesman for the Anti-Defamation League advises me that there is no evidence to support the contention that the majority of the Guild are Jewish. The notion is obscene in the light of the persecution of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

WHAT IS MISSING in Professor Dershowitz's analysis of the situation is surpassing strange. The fact of it is that anybody familiar with the political history of the United States should know that the National Lawyers Guild has been a Communist front (an unfashionable word, but where is a substitute?) for forty years. It was classified as a front in 1944 and again in 1950 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Attorney General Herbert Brownell set out to classify it as such in 1953, but was ultimately bogged down by the complicated machinery of the McCarran Act. Way back in 1940, Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle resigned from the National Lawyers Guild with a statement that its leadership refused "to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party line."

It is that simple, and it would save everyone a great deal of trouble if the NLG were treated with the contempt it deserves. If it attended the Shcharansky trial, the Guild's record suggests that it would be there to cheer on the prosecution. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. A clever saying — 82 18 168 1 197 32 230 106 57

B. Copiously — 100 10 158 183 193 90 114 231 20 96

C. These are worn by cardinals (not the St. Louis ones) — 128 179 194 98 74 54 35

D. Unscramble SUCH HORN — 146 77 113 220 13 154 127 19

E. Delineates clearly — 155 36 196 145 169 129

F. It's all right to swear before this person, even if a lady — 34 62 29 83 105 130 214 6 27 55 87 112

G. This mineral consists of a hydrous cobalt arsenate occurring especially in monoclinic crystals — 177 163 208 38 201 150 181 116 143

H. What your chiropractor will make if you dispute his bill — 189 92 192 203 9 48 51 99 123 141

I. This is easier to raise than the rent — 7 16 33 63

J. Understatement in which an affirmative is expressed by the contrary's negative (*N. R.* is not a bad magazine) — 199 21 118 160 14 93 182

K. Fond of reading — 229 122 202 211 23 131 218

L. Not harmonized in color — 11 88 24 227 152 162 205

M. A type of circus worker — 69 86 101 115 132 136 95 224 173 185

N. Having small drops, usually colored — 180 39 89 102 151 109 133

O. Moral principles — 3 8 30 37 76 84

P. Poets use this to plot their verses — 207 2 28 22 70 79 137 142 148 165 171

Q. Something that forbids or debars — 221 12 68 124 149 175 209 216 107 43

R. What many "moderates" really are — 226 46 103 58 66 219 156 40 200

S. The earliest code of Roman law (fol. *The*) — 81 225 25 65 176 188 45 198 72 204 212 223

T. COIN IT NEXT (anagram) — 31 170 206 117 125 4 67 15 139 75

U. Glowing with heat — 73 135 191 110 104 59

V. What a sprightly John L. Lewis might have said about his organization and country — 161 41 187 64 172 195 157 119 47

W. The object for which a prayer is offered — 44 164 144 111 91 120 186 210 17

X. Lacking teeth (like too many laws) — 50 94 166 190 174 184 217 147

Y. The traces of a harness are fastened to this — 215 49 56 108 140 178 213 222 228 71 78

Z. The Boston Braves' first baseman in 1944 — 60 97 153 138 121 53 126 167

a. The practice of helping the unfortunate with the money of other people and their descendants — 26 42 159 5 52 61 80 85 134

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 794 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 A	2 P	3 O		4 T	5 a	6 F	7 I	8 O	9 H		10 B	11 L	12 Q	13 D	14 J	15 T	16 I	17 W	
18 A	19 D		20 B	21 J	22 P	23 K	24 L	25 S	26 a		27 F	28 P		29 F	30 O	31 T		32 A	33 I
34 F	35 C	36 E	37 O	38 G	39 N	40 R	41 V	42 a	43 Q		44 W	45 S		46 R	47 V		48 H	49 Y	50 X
	51 H	52 a	53 Z	54 G		55 F	56 Y	57 A	58 R	59 U	60 Z	61 a		62 F	63 I		64 V	65 S	66 R
	67 T	68 Q	69 M	70 P	71 Y		72 S	73 U	74 C	75 T	76 O	77 D	78 Y	79 P		80 a	81 S		82 A
83 F	84 O		85 a	86 M		87 F	88 L	89 N	90 B	91 W	92 H	93 J	94 X		95 M	96 B		97 Z	98 C
99 H		100B	101M	102N	103R	104U	105F	106A		107Q	108Y		109N	110U	111W		112F	113D	114B
115M	116G	117T	118J	119V	120W	121Z	122K	123H		124Q	125T		126Z	127D	128C		129E	130F	131K
132M	133N	134a		135U	136M	137P	138Z		139T	140Y		141H	142P	143G		144W	145E	146D	147X
148P		149Q	150G	151N	152L	153Z	154D	155E	156R		157V	158B		159a	160J	161V	162L	163G	164W
165P	166X	167Z	168A		169E	170T	171P	172V	173M	174X	175Q	176S	177G		178Y	179C	180N	181G	182J
183B	184X	185M	186W	187V	188S		189H	190X	191U		192H	193B	194C	195V	196E	197A	198S	199J	
200R	201G	202K	203H	204S	205L		206T	207P	208G		209Q	210W		211K	212S	213Y	214F		215Y
216Q	217X	218K	219R	220D		221Q	222Y	223S		224M	225S	226R		227L	228Y	229K	230A	231B	

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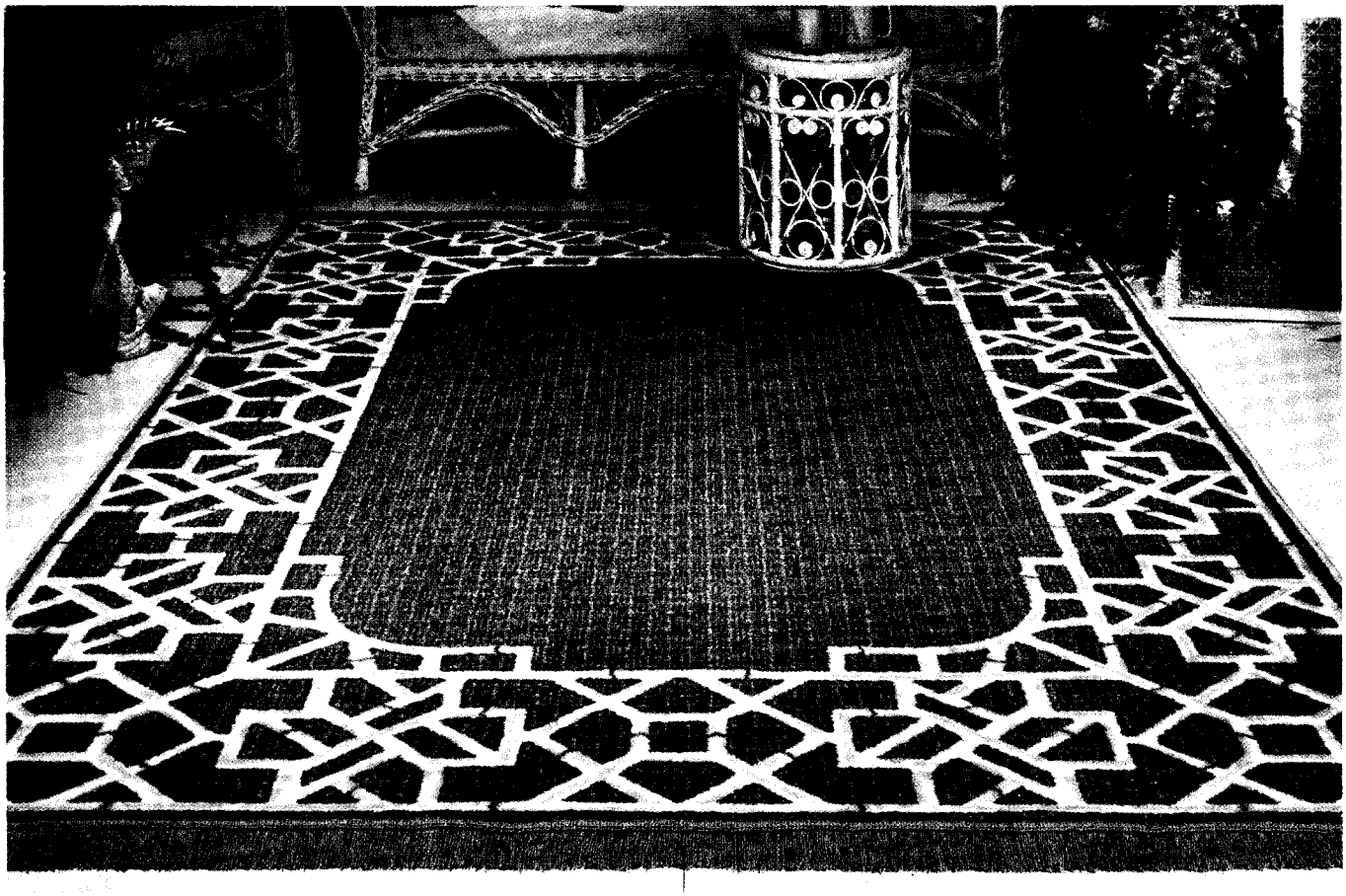

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